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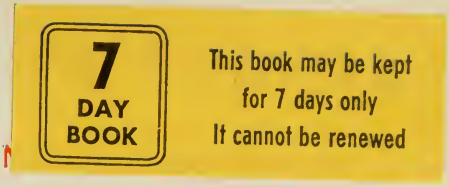

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WOODSTOCK LETTERS

VOL. XCI, No. 2 APRIL, 1962

CONTENTS FOR APRIL, 1962

ADDRESS TO JESUIT PROCURATORS 99
His Holiness Pope John XXIII

AMERICAN JESUITS AS CHAPLAINS: 1775-1917 .. 101
Gerard F. Giblin, S.J.

THE KINGDOM FOR LAITY 113
Zacheus J. Maher, S.J.

JESUIT COLLEGES FOR EXTERNS AND THEIR POVERTY 123
George E. Ganss, S.J.

FATHER JOHN J. GEOGHAN 167
William B. O'Shaughnessy, S.J.

BOOK REVIEWS 175

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For Jesuit Use Only

Published four times a year, in February, April, July and November.

Entered as second-class matter December 1, 1942, at the post office at Woodstock Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Subscription: Five Dollars Yearly

WOODSTOCK COLLEGE PRESS
WOODSTOCK, MARYLAND

The Holy Father's Address to the Congregation of Procurators

Beloved Sons,

In accordance with your Constitutions you have met at Rome from the different Provinces of the Society of Jesus spread throughout the world in order to acquaint your Father General of the state of each Province.

And today you come to present your homage to the humble successor of the Prince of the Apostles, impelled by that spirit of faith and ardent charity to which you strive to attune all the actions of your lives. Thus today for the first time We receive in audience and address Our fatherly words to such a representative gathering of your Institute. It is indeed a great pleasure for Us, and we take the opportunity of expressing Our satisfaction as a fresh proof of Our benevolence in your regard.

We are aware of the devotion with which the members of the Ignatian family labor for the glory of God and the help of souls. For in the various countries to which God's adorable will has led Us We have made acquaintance with active groups of your Society. But what affords still greater gratification is that your Order's chief characteristic lies in fidelity to the See of Peter. The purpose your Lawgiver had in mind when adding a fourth Vow to Profession was that by this means you might also advance towards religious perfection, namely by asserting a special obedience to the Holy See and dedicating in its service the energies of your minds and wills.

Continue, beloved sons, in this resolve and course of action; they are for you the source of exceptional merit. In your

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This translation is taken from the *Irish Province News* for January 1962.

efforts at virtue continue to model yourselves on the pattern of holiness which the wise legislation of your Founder proposes to you. You will thus bring joy to the Church of Christ and by tireless zeal will advance continually, according to that saying of Scripture: "The path of the just, as a shining light, goeth forwards and increaseth even to perfect day" (*Prov.* 4:18).

Let this light, then, increase and shed its ray on all who benefit by your priestly zeal, so that "They may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven" (*Matt.* 5:16).

Promote with your habitual devotion the various forms of the apostolate in which you are engaged, particularly those of the training of youth and the work of missions and retreats. You will thus play a notable part in advancing the sublime task which is the object of Our continual desire and solicitude, namely a reawakening of genuine piety among all classes of society, the flourishing of a sound morality, the steady diffusion of truth.

Now that you are about to return, each one to his own Province, We would ask you, beloved sons, to assure your religious brethren that the Pope follows their apostolic labors with his fervent prayers and fatherly affection. As Vicar of Christ Jesus We cannot but draw sweet consolation from the large membership of your Society, all seeking the glory of Jesus, all bearing on their brows and on their works the name of Jesus which "is above every name" (*Phil.* 2:9). From that name let them draw inspiration and incentive for the practice of virtue, "For thy name shall be named to thee by God for ever; the peace of justice and the honor of piety" (*Bar.* 5:4).

We give loving expression to these good wishes and counsels, so that with ever-growing zeal you may fulfill the duties assigned you in God's extended vineyard. "For the rest, brethren, rejoice, be perfect, take exhortation, be of one mind, have peace. And the God of peace shall be with you" (2 *Cor.* 13:11).

As pledge of this heavenly peace and unending joy, We lovingly impart the Apostolic Blessing on Father General, on you, Fathers, and the associates of your labors, and on each and every member of the Society of Jesus.

American Jesuits as Chaplains in the Armed Forces: 1775 to 1917

Gerard F. Giblin, S.J.

Revolutionary War

During the Revolutionary War only one Catholic priest, Father Louis Eustace Lotbinière, had any officially recognized standing as a chaplain with the Continental Army.[1] He was appointed by General Benedict Arnold in the course of the American invasion of Canada (September to December 1775) and served with the First Canadian (Livingston's) Regiment. His commission was ratified by the Congress on August 10, 1776.[2] One Jesuit, or rather, ex-Jesuit for the Society of Jesus had been suppressed in America by this time, did become involved with the American army in a quasi-official role. This was Father Pierre René Floquet of the Diocese of Quebec. This, as in Father Lotbinière's case, was during the American invasion of Canada.

The size of the American invasion force as it entered Canada had dwindled considerably and the Yankees were forced to enlist Canadians. Jean Olivier Briand, Bishop of Quebec, forbade his subjects to join the Americans. Father Floquet, on receiving assurances from their American commander that the recruited Canadian garrison troops in Montreal would not be used against their compatriots in the siege of Quebec, confessed and communicated them, since it was the paschal season. For this action he received the thanks of the Americans and was nominated as chaplain of Moses Hazen's regiment of volunteers. The bishop's response was different: he suspended the priest for his association with the Americans. Though Father Floquet sympathized with

[1] This article is intended to complement "Jesuits as Chaplains in the Armed Forces: 1917-1960" which appeared in *Woodstock Letters* in the November, 1960 issue (Vol. 89, pp. 325-482).

[2] "Chaplains in the American Revolution" by Charles H. Metzger, S.J. *Catholic Historical Review* 31 (1945) 31-79.

the Yankee invaders, he refused to associate further with them and wrote to his bishop: "I humbly supplicate your Lordship to pardon me and remove the interdict which my misdoings have drawn down on me."[3]

In the Colonies Father Ferdinand Farmer was considered for appointment as chaplain with the British army. When General Howe occupied Philadelphia in 1777, he toyed with the idea of raising a regiment of Catholic Tories and making Father Farmer its chaplain. Father Farmer did not favor the idea and evidently neither did the Philadelphians. The regiment was never raised.[4]

The Society of Jesus was officially restored in the United States when three men, Robert Molyneux, Charles Sewall and Charles Neale pronounced Jesuit vows on August 18, 1805. The newly resurrected Society provided no priests for the War of 1812. Their numbers were few: about eighteen priests; and the war was not one of extended land campaigns. Only when the British invaded Southern Maryland and burned Washington did the war come near the American Jesuits.[5]

Father Marshall

In 1824 Father Adam Marshall, a priest of the Maryland Mission, signed up as schoolmaster aboard the U.S.S. *North Carolina*. The Jesuit was suffering from a lung disease and the doctor had prescribed a sea voyage. His vessel was a ship-of-the-line, one of the few possessed by the United States in the days of sail. She was rated at 86 guns, almost twice the armament of the famous frigates that had defeated the British in the war of 1812, and had a crew of a thousand men. The young officer cadets, the midshipmen, were in Father Marshall's charge. During the *North Carolina's* voyage

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[3] For the pertinent documents relating to Father Floquet and Bishop Briand, confer *Catholics and the American Revolution* by Martin I. J. Griffin (1907-1911. Three volumes) I, 104-110.

[4] "Father Ferdinand Farmer" by John F. Quirk, S.J. *Woodstock Letters* 44 (1915) 55-67.

[5] As far as can be discovered, no Catholic priests served as chaplains in the War of 1812. "The fact remains that the War of 1812 is the only one in which our history sheds no light on the name of a Catholic chaplain." *Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains, 1776-1917* by Dom Aidan Henry Germain (Washington: 1929), p. 33.

through the Mediterranean the religious services aboard the battleship were conducted by the Episcopalian chaplain. The priest was impressed by the minister's preaching ability. A sermon he listened to he described as "well delivered, well composed and instructive in its morality, contained no controversy and it and the prayer might have been pronounced with propriety by a Catholic priest."

Father Marshall records in his diary that he was unable to say Mass aboard the ship. But a priest is always a priest: he was ready to comfort, advise and confess. Father Marshall's disease proved fatal. The final entry in his diary, pasted in by the lieutenant of the watch, reads, "September 20, 1825. At 2:30 A.M. the Revd. Adam Marshall, Schoolmaster, departed this life. At 10 A.M. called all hands to bury the dead, and committed the body of the Revd. Adam Marshall, Schoolmaster, to the deep." The final prayer over the priest may well have been pronounced by the minister whose sermons he praised.[6]

War with Mexico

When the war with Mexico began in 1846, President James Polk requested Bishop John Hughes of New York to appoint some Catholic priests as chaplains to the army. Polk was disturbed by the Mexican propaganda line: The Americans were coming to Mexico to destroy the Catholic religion. The bishop turned to the Jesuits at Georgetown and Father Peter Verhaegen, provincial, appointed Fathers John McElroy and Anthony Rey.

Father McElroy, who began his career in the Society of Jesus as a coadjutor brother, was at the time of his appointment sixty-four years old. For twenty-three years he had been pastor of St. John's Church at Frederick, Md. "Aggressive, but none the less prudent," Father Anthony Kohlmann, his novice master, had described him. Father Rey was thirty-nine, and at the time of his appointment Socius to the provincial and an administrator of Georgetown College. At the

[6] Father Marshall's manuscript diary is in the Woodstock College archives. Excerpts from it are published in *Journal of Father Adam Marshall, 1824-1825*, edited by Joseph T. Durkin, S.J. (University of Scranton, 1943).

end of May the two priests went to see the President. He explained their mission to them and wished them success. They were not commissioned as chaplains, the law made provisions only for clergymen who had been duly elected by the regiments in which they were to serve. Each priest was promised a $1,200 a year salary. Father McElroy and Father Rey travelled overland to Cincinnati where they boarded the riverboat *Thomas Jefferson*. At New Orleans they switched to the steamer *Alabama* and journeyed across the Gulf of Mexico to Port Isabel, Tex. A final boat, the *Troy*, took them up to the Rio Grande and their destination Matamoros.

Matamoros was at that time (June 1846) headquarters of Zachary Taylor's army. The town contained one uncompleted church and numerous uninstructed Catholics. Mexicans had complained that the Yankees had come to rob them of their religion, but in Matamoros Father McElroy saw precious little of it practiced. The uncompleted church was a prime instance of their apathy. During the past quarter of a century since their liberation from Spain not one new church had been completed in Mexico. With his customary vigor Father McElroy set to work visiting the hospitals and teaching catechism to children.

On August 4 Father Rey left Matamoros and accompanied Taylor's army on its journey to Monterey. For a time the army halted in Camargo, regrouped, provisioned and finally moved against Ampudia's Mexicans who held Monterey. In a three day battle (September 21 to 24, 1846) the 6,000 man American force defeated the 9,000 troops of General Ampudia. The Mexican general requested a truce and withdrew his men. With the army Father Rey entered Monterey, presented himself to the pastor and celebrated Mass in the church with Mexicans and American soldiers as worshippers.

Death of Father Rey

About January 19, 1847 Father Rey, in company with a man named McCarthy left Monterey and journeyed northwest to a town called Marin. There they fell in with a group of Mexican guerillas who shot McCarthy. Realizing that the priest would identify them if they allowed him to escape, the sacristan of the church of Marin, himself one of the guerillas,

reached a decision. "Shoot the priest." Father Rey was killed. The villagers of Marin reverently brought the body to their cemetery and interred it.

For a while Father McElroy was left in doubt as to the fate of his fellow Jesuit. In April a letter from Caleb Cushing, a brigadier general in the Massachusetts Volunteers, informed the priest that Father Rey had been murdered. By this time Father McElroy had come to the conclusion that his own mission in Mexico was not a success. He could not speak the language and communicate to the local peasants the honorable intentions of the American government. On May 11 he left Matamoros and began his return journey to the United States. Father McElroy, despite his advanced years, outlived not only the Mexican War, but the Civil War as well. He died in 1877 at the age of 95.[7]

Father De Smet

Only one Jesuit served with the army in the period between the Mexican and the Civil War. This was Father Peter De Smet of the Missouri Mission. Near Council Bluffs on the territory of the Omaha Indians in the autumn of 1846 Father De Smet came upon a large party of Mormons. The group had not yet decided upon a destination and plied the missionary with questions. Where was a good place to settle? The priest described the region near the Great Salt Lake and the Mormons seemed pleased with the description. Once he had set up his New Jerusalem, Brigham Young defied the Federal government and ordered state officials out of Utah. In retaliation the Congress in 1857 sent off an expedition of 3,000 soldiers. Brigham Young surprised this army, burned its food wagons, and ran off its cattle. Embarrassed and hungry, the destitute expedition returned home.

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[7] References to the war experiences of Father McElroy and Father Rey are frequent in *Woodstock Letters*. The most important are:

Kines, L. Berkeley. "Lincoln in a Cassock: Life of Father John McElroy, S.J., 1782 to 1847" 87 (1958) 335-398.

McElroy, John, S.J. "Chaplains for the Mexican War" 15 (1886) 198-202; 16 (1887) 33-39, 225-229.

McElroy, John S.J. and Anthony Rey, S.J. Correspondence. 17 (1888) 3-12, 149-163.

The following year another expedition was organized under the direction of William S. Harney, an army officer who had earned a good reputation for his campaign against the Sioux in 1855. Since the general's troops were three-quarters Catholics, he asked that Father Peter De Smet be appointed as their chaplain. On May 13, 1858 Father De Smet received a letter from John B. Floyd, Secretary of War: "It is the President's intention to attach you to the Army of the Utah in the capacity of chaplain, in the belief that in this position you will render important services to the country."

Since Father De Smet was about to begin a missionary journey to the Far West, the letter was in accord with his wishes. He accepted and left St. Louis, Mo., to report to Fort Leavenworth, Kans. General Harney received the missionary courteously and promised every assistance, a promise which he kept. As the expedition progressed Father De Smet ministered not only to the army personnel but also to the Indians they met enroute: Pawnees, Sioux and Cheyennes. When the army reached Mormon country, the general received word that the Latter Day Saints would not offer resistence. After installing a new state governor, the expedition returned to St. Louis. Father De Smet turned in his resignation, but in view of threatening Indian troubles in Oregon it was not accepted.

Indian Troubles

General Harney, accompanied by Father De Smet, set out on a new expedition. They travelled by way of Panama and the Pacific Ocean, landing finally in Vancouver, only to discover that Colonel George Wright had already established peace. But it was a tenuous peace. The Indians had been forced to give hostages as a bond for their good behavior. Father De Smet knew that a peace enforced under these conditions would not last. The missionary went to see Colonel Wright.

"Release the hostages in my custody. I will vouch for their conduct." Colonel Wright was reluctant until assured that General Harney agreed with the priest. The release was arranged. In company with the liberated Indians, Father De Smet returned to the Coeur d'Alènes after a twelve year absence. The Indians were delighted to see their old friend.

"I sang midnight Mass on Christmas. The Indians chanted the *Gloria* and the *Credo* and sang hymns in their own tongue." On April 16, 1859, in company with nine Indian chiefs, Father De Smet returned to Vancouver. There the Indians signed a peace treaty. The threat of war was at an end, and with its cessation came the completion of Father De Smet's duties as a military chaplain. He returned to St. Louis.[8]

The Civil War

The Civil War found the United States still a mission territory. In 1861 the Society of Jesus had in the United States only one regularly constituted province, that of Maryland; another, the Missouri, would be established in the course of the war, in 1863. The New York and Canada Mission was supplied by priests from the Province of France (replaced in 1863 by the Province of Champagne); the New Orleans Mission was staffed by the Province of Lyons.

The number of Jesuit priests was as follows: Maryland: 77; Missouri: 73; New York and Canada Mission: 46 (in the United States); New Orleans: 34. In all 230 priests. These figures are for 1863, midpoint of the war. In addition, there were a handful of Jesuits from other European nations.

It is difficult to trace priests who acted as fulltime chaplains. The *Catholic Directory* was not printed for 1862 and 1863. The province catalogues do not always list the full activities of a priest. Father Bernardin Wiget, for example, is listed simply as rector of Gonzaga College, without reference to the fact that he is a commissioned hospital chaplain in the army. Father James Bruehl within the space of the war years passes from Lyons (1860-1861), to Missouri (1862-1863), to the Austrian Province (1864) with no mention that, while in America, he was a commissioned chaplain.

The list of commissioned chaplains in the Civil War, in so far as it can be reconstructed, is as follows:[9]

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[8] *The Life of Father De Smet, S.J.* by E. Laveille, S.J. N.Y.: Kenedy, 1915.

[9] I have relied on Dom Germain's work (*op. cit.*, note 5) in determining who was and who was not commissioned among Jesuit chaplains. In two places I have disagreed with his listing. James M. Dillon of the

List of Chaplains

Union Forces

Bruehl, James. Austrian Province. Hospital chaplain at Beaufort, N. C., and New Orleans, La. Served from July 28, 1862 to May 30, 1863.

McAtee, Francis. Maryland Province. With the 31st New York Infantry from October 30, 1861 to June 4, 1863.

Nash, Michael. New York Mission. With the 6th New York Infantry from June 5, 1861 to June 25, 1863.

O'Hagan, Joseph. Maryland Province. With the 73rd New York Infantry from October 9, 1861 to September, 1863. Returned to service after making tertianship, 1864-1865.

Ouellet, Thomas. New York Mission. With the 69th New York Infantry from November 10, 1861 to December, 1862. Hospital chaplain in North Carolina from May 1863 to January 1864. Returned to the 69th Infantry, February 1864 to June 30, 1865.

Tissot, Peter. New York Mission. With the 37th New York Infantry from May 25, 1861 to June 22, 1863.

Wiget, Bernardin. Maryland Province. Hospital chaplain, Washington, D. C. Appointed October 9, 1862.

Confederate Forces

de Chaignon, Anthony. New Orleans Mission. With the 18th Louisiana in 1862.

Gache, Hippolyte. New Orleans Mission. Regiment unknown. Served from July 22, 1861 to April, 1865.

Hubert, Darius. New Orleans Mission. Served with 1st Louisiana from May 20, 1861 to April, 1865.

Prachensky, Joseph. New Orleans Mission. Served with 3rd Alabama from September 5, 1861 to February 5, 1862.

In addition to these commissioned chaplains there were many other priests who served the army in an unofficial capacity. One of the best known of these unofficial chaplains was Father Bernard O'Reilly who entered the Society of Jesus as a priest. During the war he labored for a time with

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63rd New York, classified by Germain as a Jesuit, seems rather to have been a member of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. Also, Samuel Barber, who is described as joining the Army of Northern Virginia in March 1864 and remaining until the Appomattox surrender could not have participated in these events. He died February 23, 1864 at St. Thomas Manor (*Catholic Directory* for 1865, p. 210; corroborated by the catalogue for the Maryland Province for 1865). Also helpful was an unpublished manuscript by Stephen J. Laut, S.J.: "Jesuit Chaplains in the American Civil War."

the 69th New York Infantry. He afterwards withdrew from the Society, and in subsequent years became known for his historical writings, lives of Leo XIII and Pius IX, in addition to other works.[10]

Union chaplains in the Civil War were elected by their regiments; hospital chaplains were appointed by the president. Both classes were commissioned with rank and pay allowances equivalent to a captain of cavalry. This unlikely branch was chosen to equivalate the chaplain's commission because it was realized that in the course of his ministry a chaplain would need a horse and the cavalry commission carried with it such a provision.

The Union prescribed an austere uniform for its chaplains: a "plain black frock coat, with standing collar and one row of nine black buttons: plain black pantaloons; black felt hat or army forage cap without adornments."[11] Most of the chaplains were unaware of the regulation and adopted army dress or ordinary clergy attire.

Despite the fact that they participated in many bloody engagements, Jesuits fared well on the casualty lists. Two Union chaplains became prisoners of the Southerners for three weeks: Father Tissot and Father O'Hagan were both captured by the Confederates during the Peninsula Campaign. They were directed to proceed to Richmond. There they stayed at the residence of Bishop John McGill. Without being exchanged for Confederates they were allowed to return to Washington in the third week of July, 1862.[12]

Two Jesuits were wounded: Father de Chaignon while with the Confederate army in Tennessee[13] and Father Hubert

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[10] Another unofficial chaplain who deserves mention is Father Anselm Usannaz, chaplain for a time at the infamous Andersonville Prison in Georgia. He gives his name, homonymically at least, to Father Hosannah in MacKinlay Kantor's *Andersonville:* "The Jesuit from over Mobile way. He spoke three or four languages, perhaps more."

[11] *Chaplains of the United States Army* by Roy J. Honeywell. Washington: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, 1958, p. 110.

[12] "A Year in the Army of the Potomac" by Peter Tissot, S.J. *Historical Records and Studies* 3 (1904) 42-87. This is Father Tissot's diary kept during his first year as a chaplain.

[13] *The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley* by Albert H. Biever, S.J. New Orleans, 1924, p. 113.

during the Gettysburg battle, July, 1863.[14]

Father Francis McAtee, the last of the commissioned Union chaplains, died in 1904 at the age of 79. Father Hippolyte Gache outlived him, dying in Montreal in 1907 at the age of 90.

The Spanish-American War was a sudden lightning flash in American history. It flared up, was fought and gone in four months, April to August, 1898. Tampa, Florida, was the port of embarkation for the invasion of Cuba, the one extended land campaign of the war. Here Father William Tyrrell, pastor of St. Louis Church, Tampa, and his fellow Jesuits worked strenuously so that as many as possible could receive the sacraments before they set off to the war. Once the invasion of Cuba had gotten underway, the priests helped organize hospital facilities for the numerous victims of typhoid fever. The major battles of the Spanish-American War were fought in the hospitals. During the war the battle deaths for the army totaled 369, non-battle deaths 2061.[15]

The only Jesuit commissioned during the war was Father Thomas E. Sherman of the Missouri Province. General Sherman's son was commissioned as chaplain in the 4th Missouri Volunteers on May 16, 1898 and mustered in at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. He spent the entire war stateside. During July and August Father Sherman was stationed at Camp Alger, Virginia. On August 12 an armistice was signed and on the 18th he shipped out from Newport News aboard the *Obdam* with orders to report in Puerto Rico.

Father Sherman spent some time in Utuado, Puerto Rico, as chaplain to the 6th Massachusetts Volunteers. During this period he had his only brush with the war. He spent a night at the home of a Señor José Blanco who had been a lieutenant colonel in the Spanish volunteers and was extremely unpopular with the local natives. During the night there was a pistol shot and subsequently the neighboring hacienda was fired by a band of marauders. Father Sherman and his host

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[14] "Letters of Civil War Chaplains" by T. S. King, S.J. *Woodstock Letters* 43 (1914) 170.

[15] The Tampa Jesuits were assisted by Father René Holaind, Ethics Professor from Woodstock. Other unofficial chaplains included Father Patrick J. Kennedy (New Orleans) with the 2nd Louisiana and Father Daniel P. Lawton (New Orleans) with the Louisiana Field Artillery.

waited for the attack that fortunately never materialized. Father Sherman wrote an interesting account of his own psychological reaction to the brief encounter: "For the first and only time in my life did I realize the intense pleasure which there is in exposure to danger, one that leads all the world of manhood to concede that fighting is the best fun in the world." An interesting reaction from a man whose father gave war its classical definition.

While in Puerto Rico Father Sherman also acted as a special observer for the War Department. He was attached to the staff of General Ulysses Grant II and he travelled extensively about the island, sometimes as much as thirty hours in the saddle, gathering material for his report. On his return to the United States Father Sherman was honorably discharged, February 10, 1899. He was the last Jesuit to be commissioned in the army until World War I.[16]

COMMISSIONED (OR OFFICIALLY APPOINTED) JESUIT CHAPLAINS[17]

Mexican War

Name:	*Province:*	*Branch:*	*Period:*
McElroy, John	Maryland	Army	1846-1847
Rey, Anthony	Maryland	Army	1846-1847

Expeditions against the Mormons and Indians

Name:	*Vice-Province:*	*Branch:*	*Period:*
De Smet, Peter	Missouri	Army	1858-1859

Civil War

Name:	*Province or Mission:*	*Branch:*	*Period:*
Bruehl, James	Austrian	US Army	1862-1863
de Chaignon, Anthony	NO Mission	CS Army	1862
Gache, Hippolyte	NO Mission	CS Army	1861-1865
Hubert, Darius	NO Mission	CS Army	1861-1865

[16] *General Sherman's Son* by Joseph T. Durkin, S.J. N.Y.: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1959.

[17] Father Floquet is omitted because his appointment was never ratified; Father Marshall, because his appointment was not as chaplain but schoolmaster.

McAtee, Francis	Maryland	US Army	1861-1863
Nash, Michael	NY Mission	US Army	1861-1863
O'Hagan, Joseph	Maryland	US Army	1861-1863; 1864-1865
Ouellet, Thomas	NY Mission	US Army	1861-1865
Prachensky, Joseph	NO Mission	CS Army	1862
Tissot, Peter	NY Mission	US Army	1861-1863
Wiget, Bernardin	Maryland	US Army	1862-?

Spanish-American War

Name:	*Province:*	*Branch:*	*Period:*
Sherman, Thomas E.	Missouri	US Army	1898-1899

Casualties

Mexican War:

Killed by the enemy:

Rey, Anthony. Killed by Mexican bandits or guerilla forces near Marin, Mexico, January 19, 1847.

Civil War:

Wounded in action:

de Chaignon, Anthony. Wounded while serving with the Confederate army in Tennessee.

Hubert, Darius. Wounded in the arm while serving with the Confederate army during the Battle of Gettysburg, July, 1863.

Prisoner of War:

O'Hagan, Joseph. Captured on June 30, 1862. Detained in Richmond and returned to Union control on July 20, 1862.

Tissot, Peter. Captured on June 30, 1862. Detained in Richmond and returned to Union control on July 20, 1862.

The Kingdom for the Laity

Zacheus J. Maher, S.J.

The subject proposed is a very interesting one, but it is beset with many complexities. In scholastic fashion I shall first present the status quaestionis and then come to the thesis proper.

1. The retreatants under consideration are neither priests nor religious, but laymen, and specifically those in a fixed state of life, not those seeking to discover their vocation. The latter would require special treatment. To include them in our discussion would be too time-consuming. Furthermore, the vast majority of our retreatants are not in this class.

2. Ignatius himself warns us that not all are qualified, whether intellectually or spiritually, to go beyond the first week of the Exercises.

3. A considerable length of time is required to condition the soul to enter on the Second Week. It is impossible to do this in a single retreat of two or even three days.

4. On every retreat there are those who have come for the first time, and those who have made five, ten or even more retreats. This is a continuing problem in all retreat houses. Would that we could meet it by conducting two retreats simultaneously, one for the newcomers, the other for the veterans. The difficulty would be intensified if you were to attempt to present the Kingdom to such a diversified group.

5. How is the meditation to be regarded? Is it to be considered apostolic, tending directly and primarily to the fashioning of the lay apostle rather than to the perfection of the individual, or is it to be directed primarily to the sanctification of the individual, with the consequent emergence of the instrument better fitted to work for the salvation of the

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Paper read at the biennial meeting of the directors of Jesuit Retreat Houses for men, held at El Retiro San Inigo, Los Altos, California, September 25-28, 1961.

neighbor? I favor the latter view, in the spirit of the second rule of the Summary.

Primarily the Individual

There is no doubt that, objectively, the Kingdom of Christ is the Church militant, suffering and triumphant. This is the kingdom to which Our Blessed Lord made such frequent reference; here, however, Ignatius would seem not to have the Church but the individual primarily in mind. The enemies the retreatant must wage war against are not those who continuously assault the Church but those who assail himself. It is in this warfare that men must share with Christ in the labor in order that they may later share in the glory.

Ignatius' view is basic. A society is nothing apart from the individuals who go to make it up, and is no better than they. "The kingdom of God is within you." It is a kingdom of hearts. Herein are lodged the enemies to be overcome. Christ stands before the citadel of the human heart, seeking its surrender. "Son, give me thy heart." The enemy with whom the retreatant must engage is self: in him are rooted the carnal, the sensual and the worldly love which Ignatius will presently stigmatize. This is the reason why the manual of arms handed him as he entered upon his retreat read: "Soul exercises to conquer oneself." As Monsignor Guardini (*The Lord,* p. 162) phrases it: "We are the arch enemies of our own salvation, and the Shepherd must fight first of all with us, and for us."

This too is why the directives in the preludes and the colloquies are so personal: *I* want, *I* need, *I* desire. What have *I* done? What am *I* doing? What ought *I* do for Christ? All this and more of the same nature would seem to indicate that Ignatius has the individual primarily in mind, secondarily the apostle.

6. The next praenotandum has to do with the manner of presenting the parable of the earthly king. Should it be given as Ignatius presents it or should it be streamlined to the jet age? Give it as he does. *Aut sit uti est, aut non sit.*

The arguments for alteration stem largely, I believe, from the fact that kings (and queens), generally speaking, have been a rather sorry lot in history. They are passé today,

particularly to an American. Nevertheless by a strange inconsistency, the notion of king conveys the idea of excellence. The best of everything is king. In some ways we Americans are very provincial in our thinking. Because our form of government is, theoretically at least, a splendid one, and has worked out quite well through so many years, it does not follow that it is equally good or suited to the temperaments of all other peoples. Nor should we seek to impose it on them, must less to belittle theirs. Rather we should strive to understand their point of view, to enter more fully into their way of thinking, and even, if it be necessary, project ourselves into the minds and manners of former people. Though we as a nation or as individuals, feel no particular sense of loyalty towards the person of a given president (We may even have voted for his opponent), others might feel such loyalty towards their respective sovereigns, the more so if, in their estimation, royalty is identified with country and country with royalty. So it was with Ignatius. He was a hero worshiper. His hero was his king.

Parables

It may be objected that the temporal king is a fictitious character. Granted, but how often have we not been inspired by fictitious characters in literature? Our Blessed Lord spoke in parables, and without parables He did not speak to them. Shall we then discard these too because they are fictitious?

But all this aside, the great argument for retaining the notion of the king is the very Kingship of Christ itself, always prominent in the liturgy of the Church, in the Scriptures, and emphasized once again in the fairly recent establishment of the Feast of Christ the King. To modify Ignatius' presentation would be to weaken, if not to destroy entirely, the device he has thought out to achieve the purpose of the meditation; the comparison made between the temporal king and the King Eternal. How flat would such a contrast be if made between any historical character, however outstanding, and Our Blessed Lord! This is precisely why Ignatius had to devise a somewhat comparable term of comparison: "A human king, chosen by God Himself, whom all Christian princes and men reverence and obey."

The next and the final praenotandum is made with the greatest respect and reverence for St. Ignatius and only with relation to retreats given to the laity, never to priests or religious, much less to Ours. It is made because of an obstacle to deriving the full fruit of the meditation due to the unfamiliarity of the average Catholic layman with the whole of the Life of Christ, and his consequent lack of appreciation of the magnificence of the character of Our Blessed Lord. How few of the laity have read even the four gospels in their entirety! Here are the results of polls I took of three different retreat classes at El Retiro. *Question:* Have you read the four gospels in their entirety? *Answer:* 55 No, 12 Yes; 52 No, 15 Yes; 55 No, 16 Yes. Total 162 No, 37 Yes.

Archbishop Goodier wrote in his *A More Excellent Way:* "It is important for us to bear always in mind that we learn Our Lord as He was, and therefore, as He is, wholly from the gospels." And Father McCorry: "Of all the books this world will ever hold, the four gospels will be in every way the best. So we will always read Christ, only we must not misread Him" (*America,* 9-2-61). And how few have ever read a harmony or a standard Life of Christ! How brief is the explanation of the gospel at Sunday Mass to which they are exposed! *Ignoti nulla cupido!* How then can a man be won to Christ unless and until he comes to know Him? How shall he be brought to know Him unless he comes into contact with Him? How shall he be brought into contact with Him except through meditation on the gospels?

Order of Presentation

I have often asked myself: might it not be better to give the meditation of the Incarnation *before* that of the Kingdom? This majestic meditation would bring to the retreatant an interior knowledge of the Lord who for him has become Man. Thus too will he come to love Him more ardently and follow more closely. How much more clearly will he then see Christ Our Lord, King Eternal, in his own Person as he makes his appeal: not a remote personality, dimly known and vaguely appreciated, but a close, I had almost said a tangible reality, with whom he has consorted in the intimacy of prayer and contemplation!

I believe that this furtherance of the knowledge of the Personality of Christ in the retreatant, which is a prerequisite for the fruitful presentation of the Kingdom, is in itself a worthwhile objective, even though one were to accomplish no more or were to go no further into the Exercises.

Application of the Parable

Ignatius reveals his own soul in the book of the Exercises. Indeed it is one of the greatest of the spiritual *Aeneids* left by the saints. Ignatius was a man of high knightly ideals. The more he saw these realized in any given individual, the more was he drawn to that person. Thus he came to know the saints and was won to them; thus too, he came to know Christ in his life, in his works, but above all in his Person. In Him he saw verified in the highest possible degree all that was great and good in man. Here was the fulfillment of his ideal. Here was the ultimate in perfection, human and divine. Here was his Lord, the King Eternal. He would enlist in His service, offer Him his best and his all. He would be Christ's man, ignorant at the moment of all this might entail, but ready to dedicate anything, everything, self above all, to His Person and to His cause. Then it was that he gave up the temporal for the eternal, Charles V for Christ, man for God.

It is to such a degree of attachment he would bring the retreatant as the partial result of the meditation of the Kingdom. Can the average layman be brought to it in the brief period of a weekend retreat? I do not think first-timers can. The man who has made several retreats may be brought somewhat nearer to it, the more so if the retreat lasts three, five, or more days and the traditional exercises of the First Week be condensed, as well they might be, for men of this type. I believe that more frequently than is commonly supposed, great good will result from even a partial presentation of the Kingdom, i.e., a presentation of the comparison between the earthly king and the Eternal.

In the first place, the praise, reverence and service—particularly the service—of the Foundation is placed before the retreatant in a new light; there it was stressed as a matter of duty, here it is emphasized as an expression of attachment, a manifestation of admiration and of love. Personal knowledge

and contact with Christ will have engendered love. Love leads to the offering of self to the labor, so that following Christ in pain he may also follow Him in the glory. He will henceforth strive to save his soul, not so much because he must, but rather because he would not disappoint Christ Whom he loves and Who has become Man to die for his salvation.

Collaboration

But he should not be allowed to rest here. He must be brought to realize that it is not only his own soul which Christ would save but the souls of all men as well. And because he now cares for Christ, he will become enthusiastic about this project of his Lord. If you really care for a person you wish to see all his hopes realized. This *caritas Christi* will then urge him on to collaborate with Christ to the fullest extent of his power in the attainment of his heart's desire. This is the birth of an apostle. This is the Pentecost of the soul, when the retreatant has been changed into the new man, the *homo conjunctus cum Deo,* the instrument in the hand of God who will spend himself and be spent in the service of Christ, seeking no other reward than the privilege of further service. Such men Pius XII had in mind when in his allocution to the Renascita Cristiana, he said: "Men who wish in the field in which circumstances, planned by Divine Providence, have placed them to collaborate in leading souls back to Christ the one Lord and Master, men who by constant good example, by courageous profession of their firm conviction of the truth of Christian principles, slowly, continuously, progressively, exert an influence upon a group of people who think differently from them. Such is the meaning of the entire work of redemption and every apostolate, whatever may be its form, is but a participation in that redemptive work of Christ" (See *Catholic Mind,* July, 1947, p. 388).

Where if not in retreat can such men be fashioned? Were the total result of the retreat movement merely a body of Mass-on-Sunday, Fish-on-Friday Catholics, men who do the minimum they must in order to save their own souls, but are unconcerned about the salvation of others, then it would have failed of its objective. The retreat master must open up

new horizons to the retreatants. He must not let them be content with the avoidance of mortal sin, he must have them labor by frequent reception of the sacraments and by an accentuation of their spiritual life to diminish the frequency and the intensity of venial sins; he must lead them on to the practice of the examen, of meditation, of spiritual reading. Men are often more anxious to go further than we are ready to lead them, more anxious to receive than we are to give. They ask for bread. Do not give them stones for bread, nor serpents for fish. To what heights of Catholic living could they not be brought if we only dared to show them the way!

Ever since Pius XI stood in the field of the world, littered with the dry bones of Catholic inactivity, ever since he uttered the cry which brought flesh and sinews to the scattered fragments of the laity, there has been a stirring of skeletons. The Pontiff startled priests and laity alike with the hope expressed in his encyclical on atheistic communism: "That the fanaticism with which the sons of darkness work day and night at their materialistic and atheistic propaganda might at least serve the holy purpose of stimulating the sons of light to a like and even greater zeal for honor of the Divine Majesty."

And this is the same Pius who wrote in so laudatory a manner of the Spiritual Exercises and declared in his Apostolic Constitution, "We deem it proved that the Spiritual Exercises made according to the plan of St. Ignatius have the greatest efficiency in dispelling the most stubborn difficulties with which human society is now confronted!" Surely he never thought this would be accomplished if retreatants were to be restricted merely to the ground work of the First Week. Rather, I fancy I can hear him say to us: "Jesuit Retreat Masters: I charge you, send real Catholic men out of your retreat houses into every phase of life; family, social, parochial, commercial, professional, political, educational; men who will command attention and demand respect for the Church and for themselves by their spiritual stature, men who will be first and foremost to answer the calls made upon them for the Catholic action so vital to the well-being of the Church today. The begetting of such, and the being

in labor until they are begotten unto Christ, this is your most imperative responsibility."

Offerings of Greater Value?

I sincerely feel we can respond to the Holy Fathers by the proper presentation of the Kingdom as thus far indicated. But can we, or ought we go further? Can we venture to lead the retreatants into the ranks of distinguished service men? Can we rightly urge them to make "offerings of greater value and greater importance?" The answer is not easy. Once again I remind you, I am speaking of laymen, not of religious, or even of diocesan priests. I feel that in regard to the latter the problem is intricate and beyond the scope of this paper.

The offerings to be made are these: spiritual poverty, actual poverty, wanting to bear insults, and abuses, and as will be added in the Two Standards, contumely and contempt, and this in imitation of Christ, out of the desire to be as He, for love either finds equals or makes equals.

There is no particular difficulty about spiritual poverty. Our Blessed Lord named it as the first of the Beatitudes, and these are for all. Further, it is the Indifference of the Foundation, but with a higher motivation. But actual poverty? The majority of our retreatants, whether they be single or married, are men of ordinary means; few of them seek money for money's sake; rather, they seek it for their families, to maintain them at a reasonable standard of living and to meet the many obligations they must carry in the present-day economy, and, God knows, these are great indeed. Add to these the constant demands made on them for contributions to ever so many worthy causes, within the framework of the Church and outside it. The marvel is that they can do what they are doing, and that they have done so much. I salute them. I admire them. They donate, oftentimes at great personal sacrifice, setting an example of detachment and of modest living in not a few instances even to the clergy. Here some retreatants might be fittingly cautioned against envy of those better circumstanced than they and also against overreaching themselves in their disastrous desire to live above their means. Then, too, if correction in attitude towards the acquisition and disposition of money is needed, propose that startling and all-

inclusive directive of St. Ignatius: "To Amend and Reform One's Life and State," with particular regard to material things: "How large a house and household he ought to keep; likewise of his means, how much he ought to take for his household and house and how much to disperse to the poor and to other pious objects."

Insults and Abuse

We come now to the bearing of injuries and abuses, of contumely and contempt. This is the height of Ignatian asceticism. *Sed non omnes capiunt hoc verbum.* I fear you would have a difficult time bringing all priests to make this offering of greater value. With your experience, you will understand. Religious of both sexes, yes: this should be of the very substance of their spirituality. For the Jesuit it is his rule of life. But our problem is with the laity. The Exercises are not so much verbiage. Ignatius did not intend that they should be merely informative—as if one were to say to a retreatant: "This is a possible service, but it is not for you!" Desires are not to be aroused, nor resolutions proposed which have no practical application. The offering is not *pro forma.* To urge men to seek to be down-graded when up-grading is essential to their securing a position or holding a job, or advancing in their trade or business, or profession? After all, they do this for the laudable purpose of properly maintaining their families and meeting their financial responsibilities. Will it not seem contradictory and futile? I have come to feel that the extent to which these particular offerings of greater merit can be presented to our retreatants, if at all, is an acceptance of them when they come, the more so if they are unavoidable and undeserved,—reserving always the right, even the duty, to the preservation of one's reputation.

It was the selfsame Ignatius who proposed this love of contumely and contempt, who refused a public flogging in Paris and who later sought juridical vindication of the good name of the Society in Rome. This illustrates further the difficulty of properly explaining the implications of this meditation in a short retreat to the lay retreatant, lest he go away misinformed and consequently troubled in spirit. Father Edgar Bernard, S.J., in his *Notes for a Layman's Retreat,*

when he comes to the formula of dedication for distinguished service men, makes no mention at all of poverty, whether of spirit or actual, none of bearing injuries and abuses, but words it this way: "I wish and desire to imitate Thee in faithfully carrying out whatever resolutions it will please your Divine Majesty to make known to me during the course of this retreat." Those interested in pursuing the subject further, will find some apposite remarks in *Notes on the Spiritual Exercises* by Hugo Rahner, S.J.

Daily Life

But outside of this area, there lies another, extensive and difficult, in which the bearing of insults, contumely and contempt can be ambitioned and no material harm result. In daily life instances will constantly occur when others will be preferred; when others will be invited and he overlooked, ignored, or excluded; when he will be asked to take a lower place because another, more worthy than he, has arrived; or when in some parochial affair another will be voted in and he voted out; another stationed in the receiving line and he asked to lend a hand in the parking lot; when, as we read in the Knox version of Kempis (3, 49): "Others will be listened to when they speak but people will take no notice of anything you say. People will say a lot of nice things about others, no one will say a word about you. Others will be given this or that position of trust, you will be reckoned good for nothing at all. Naturally, this kind of thing will make you sad now and then, but if you bear it all without saying a word, you will have taken a great step forward." At this point the retreat master would naturally be led to speak of the vanity of human glory, of the transitoriness of the temporal, the everlastingness of the eternal, of the value of a pure intention, of looking only to God for one's reward, of not letting the right hand know what the left is about, of so letting one's light shine before all men that they may glorify not you but your Father Who is in heaven, of constant loyalty in spite of inconsiderateness and ingratitude and the thousand hurts which wittingly or unwittingly are inflicted on man by his fellow man. Perhaps we can sum it all up by saying that just as we distinguish between spiritual and

actual poverty, so may we distinguish between the spirit of acceptance and actual endurance of contempt. We may urge on to the one whereas we would not be prudent in urging on to the other.

Bring the retreatant so far and you will have led him to a high plateau of spiritual perfection, with all its consequent blessings. His position will be rendered more secure if he can be induced to devote some time at reasonably frequent intervals, or when the opportunity presents itself, to meditative reading on the life of Christ. All this cannot be accomplished in the brief period of a single retreat but it can be returned to in subsequent retreats, at least to groups properly qualified. I refrain from discussing a continuance program along the lines of the schedule followed in the Workingmen's Retreats, but surely this would be an Ignatian approach and quite applicable here.

May I conclude, therefore, by urging you to give the Kingdom to qualified groups of the laity. Where adaptations are necessary make them prudently, always seeking to ascend the ladder which reaches to heaven, rather than to descend. Then indeed shall we fashion men who will labor with Christ in the day and watch in the night, men who will have a part in the victory as they have had in the toil. Call them what you will: Distinguished Service Men, Third Order Jesuits, Lay Jesuits! They will be men according to the heart of Ignatius, men according to the Heart of Christ.

The Origin of Jesuit Colleges for Externs and the Controversies about their Poverty, 1539-1608

George E. Ganss, S.J.

Since the first four volumes of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* were published in 1894, this scholarly series, now numbering eighty-seven volumes, has obviously brought immense benefit to scholars. It has made available to the interested public, Jesuit and non-Jesuit alike, multitudinous primary sources which have contributed much to dispel

former ignorance, error, and even calumny. Previously these sources existed only in the handwritten originals which are stored in the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu*—a long room in the Jesuit Curia in Rome. Its two floors contain the closely packed rows of modern library shelves on which these precious documents are still carefully preserved, arranged chiefly in chronological order.

From the very beginning, the quality of editing in the *Monumenta* was very high. Yet, naturally enough, these editors, quite like the excavators of Pompeii, gained experience and ever improving techniques as they progressed. Also, the recent editors could draw from the vast information which is contained in the later volumes and which was not yet available to their predecessors at the turn of the century. It is in no way surprising that these later tomes contain introductions and notes which are far more extensive, illuminating, and satisfying than the early ones. Consequently, the time has come when the early volumes can be reworked and improved with the light more recently gained.

Among those early volumes is the *Monumenta Paedagogica quae primam Rationem Studiorum anno 1586 editam praecessere*. This volume, and the four volumes entitled *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu* (which Father Georg Pachtler edited in the series *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica* from 1887 to 1894), have long been the chief primary sources on which students of early Jesuit education have based their treatises. Yet by comparison with later volumes of the *MHSJ* the introductory descriptions and explanatory notes in the *Monumenta Paedagogica* of 1901 are disappointingly meager. Hence the present directors of the series decided on a revision.

In 1956 a Jesuit trained in the techniques of historical research, Father Ladislaus Lukács of the Province of Hungary, was assigned full time to the task of re-examining the entire field of the Society's ministry of education, for approximately the first century of her existence. For nearly five years he has been combing the Roman Archives of the Society, selecting and transcribing documents omitted by the editors of 1901, compiling notes which explain them, and synthesizing his discoveries into a coherent account. At the

Domus Scriptorum Sancti Petri Canisii in Rome, Father Lukács recently showed to the present writer many of these manuscripts—including the handwritten draft of the *Ratio Studiorum* from which the printer set the type in 1599. These pages, now yellow and brittle with age, contain faded handwriting of which some is beautiful calligraphy and some is scratching indescribably difficult to decipher. Yet, with skill and patience, Father Lukács has now transcribed multitudinous important pages.

He has well-laid plans to publish both our former documents and new ones too, all with introductions and notes far more copious than we previously had. According to his present conjecture, the material dealing with the period 1539 to about 1608 will fill four volumes. They will bear the title *Monumenta Studiorum*. He has fair hopes that the first volume will appear within a year.

As a preparatory study Father Lukács recently published two lengthy articles in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu,* XXIX (1960), pp. 189-245, and XXX (1961), pp. 3-89. They give us a sample of the new knowledge which will soon be ours in greater abundance. Their title is: *De Origine Collegiorum Externorum deque Controversiis circa eorum Paupertatem Obortis,* 1539-1608. The first article portrays the gradual evolution of St. Ignatius' concept of education as one of the most important ministries of the Society, from 1539 until his death in 1556. The second treats the years 1556-1608, a period stormy with serious problems, scruples, and controversies about the poverty of the Jesuits who dwelt in the Society's schools. These articles contain information truly new to us which is indeed extensive. With it, the facts we formerly knew can be viewed with deeper insight because they appear in their proper place against a larger background. Also, many gaps in our former knowledge which we had to bridge by inference or unsatisfying conjecture can now be filled with documentary precision and reliable statistics. Thus we gain a complete picture which is far more realistic and satisfying.

Taken together, the two articles would make up a book of about 145 closely printed pages. This book is of great interest to American Jesuits who are so extensively engaged in the

Society's apostolate of education. Yet many of them will be hard pressed to find time to read this work. Happily, Father Lukács chose to write in Latin, a language which makes his research accessible to all of us. But his subject matter is of such a nature that his pages are by necessity packed with close historical and legal reasoning, and with copious citations of documents written in Italian, Spanish, and sinuous Latin. This cannot make light reading after a day in a classroom or office.

Hence we shall present here an American adaptation of his two articles, largely in the manner of a digest. We shall retain his divisions and captions, and give samples of his thorough documentation. Thus those who desire his ampler treatment and documentation for one point or another will be able to find the place quickly in his original articles.

First Part: Genesis of the Ministry of Teaching Externs, 1539-1556

According to the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*[1] there are two types of Jesuit domiciles: 1) the professed houses where the formed Jesuits exercise their sacerdotal ministries (such as preaching and administering the Sacraments), and 2) the colleges, in which the Jesuit scholastics live and study until their education is complete and they can be transferred to a professed house. A professed house (and the formed Jesuits in it) must subsist exclusively on alms, but the colleges are permitted to possess endowments and fixed revenues. The formed members may not in any way use these revenues for themselves.[2] At first Ignatius expected that most of his Jesuits would live in the professed houses, and that the colleges would be secondary dwellings, seminaries to supply men for the professed houses.

But the actual development in history, even during his lifetime, was precisely the opposite. At his death in 1556 there were only two professed houses and forty-six colleges, of which at least thirty-three conducted classes open to extern

[1] *Cons.* p. 3, c. 1, n. 27 [289].
[2] *Examen* I, 3-4 [4-5].

students. Moreover, the colleges themselves had evolved in such a manner that many, perhaps most of them, were educational institutions conducted more to benefit externs than to be seminaries for the Society. Through subsequent decades these proportions remained pretty much the same. By 1579 there were ten professed houses and 144 colleges; by 1600 sixteen professed houses and 245 colleges.[3] Furthermore, many of the Jesuits who dwelt in the colleges were engaged, not in teaching, but in the spiritual ministries proper to the professed houses. Consequently, scruples and doubts arose to bother many capable and sincere Jesuits, especially from 1570 to 1608. They thought that the Society had fallen away from the observance of its *Constitutions*. One typical example is the celebrated ascetical writer Alphonsus Rodriguez. Preparing agenda for the Fifth General Congregation, he wrote in 1593: "The Society seems to be failing to live according to its Institute;"[4] and he pointed out that most of its colleges were not in practice what he thought they ought to be, namely, seminaries for Jesuit scholastics. In this he was echoing opinions which had been voiced in provincial and general congregations for forty years.

To what extent was this true? By 1608 the concepts around which the debates turned were exceedingly complex and sometimes confused. The most efficient means to clarify these concepts and then appraise them is to re-examine them historically from their first origin in both the practice and the laws of Ignatius.

Chapter I. 1539-1550. Evolution of the Colleges before the Promulgation of the Constitutions of the Society

At Montmartre in 1534 Ignatius and his university-trained companions vowed to live perpetually on alms in evangelical poverty. At Venice in 1538 they further decided to form a religious order of an apostolic type; and in Rome in 1539 they

[3] Lukács, L., in *Archivum Historicum S.J.* (henceforth AHSJ), XXIX, p. 190.

[4] *Archivum Romanum S.J.* (Henceforth ARSJ), Congr. 20ª, p. 303; *Instit.* 182, 48v. (All citations from *ARSJ* are taken from Lukács, *op. cit.*, *AHSJ* XXIX and XXX.)

took steps to carry this decision into practice. They intended that their professed members should live in houses which could have no fixed income.

1. The Origin, Nature, and Spread of the Colleges, 1539-1545

Since few men with university degrees were willing to embrace an apostolic life of this type, Inigo and his companions saw the necessity of admitting and educating youths. They devised the plan of having these young men attend the classes of the best universities, like Paris, while they lived in near-by houses *(collegia)* of the Society. But Ignatius' experience at Paris had shown that the need of daily begging interferes with solid progress in studies. Therefore he and his associates determined, at Lainez' suggestion, that these colleges should be allowed to possess endowments and fixed revenues for the support of the students *(studentes)*, but which the professed members were not to use in any way for themselves. Then the Inigists took care to have this arrangement approved in the papal bull of Paul III *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae,* dated September 27, 1540.

These colleges, as conceived by the Inigists in 1540, were to be near universities but completely independent from their control. They were to be mere domiciles in which the Jesuits were to give no instruction and to admit no externs. Neither were the Jesuits *ex professo* to engage in sacerdotal ministrations characteristic of a professed house, though these were not wholly forbidden.

To clarify their minds and to be ready to make explanations to prospective founders, the professed Fathers who came to Rome in 1541 to elect a General composed a document describing the nature of these colleges. It was entitled *Fundación de collegio.* Already in it they outlined for the scholastics a plan of studies directed to a supernatural end. They also explicitly stated the golden rule they intended to follow: to make whatever changes experience would reveal to be useful in helping the Church according to circumstances of time and place.[5]

In 1540 King John III of Portugal was the first to consent

[5] *MI, Cons.* I, p. 57, n. 13.

to establish such a college for Jesuit scholastics. It opened near the University of Coimbra with 12 scholastics in 1542. It had 25 in a rented house in 1543, and 95 in 1546. By 1547 it was adequately endowed. It can be called a college of the first form *(forma)* or type: merely a domicile, sufficiently endowed, exclusively for Jesuit students.

This college at Coimbra seems to have been the only instance in which the concept of a college of the first form was perfectly achieved in practice. The Inigists inaugurated at least six more by the end of 1544 (for example, at Paris, Louvain, Cologne, Valencia, and elsewhere), but they could not find founders willing to give adequate endowments. Prospective founders always wanted benefits for the youths of their region, and not for Jesuit scholastics alone. For example, at Salzburg, Germany, in 1544 Father Le Jay found the Archbishop unwilling to establish such a college exclusively for Jesuits, but ready to endow one in which Jesuits would teach seminarians both Jesuit and non-Jesuit. On January 21, 1545, Father Le Jay wrote to Ignatius his opinion that the best way to help the Church in Germany would be to found a seminary and have Jesuits teach in it.[6] At the Council of Trent in 1546 Father Le Jay also urged the establishment of seminaries.

2. *Beginning of a New Apostolate: the Ministry of Teaching in our Colleges, 1545-1550*

In 1545 Ignatius, now General, decided to draw up legislation for the training of the scholastics. He summoned Father Lainez to Rome for consultation. Among other measures they revised the formula of 1541 for foundations of colleges. One unobtrusive word was added which in reality was a great innovation: founders were to provide not only for officials and rectors *(oficiales y regidores)* as before, but also for teachers *(preceptores)*.[7] One probable reason for this innovation was the experience gained at Padua. There the university lectures were too few and sporadic and had to be supplemented in the Jesuit domicile. Similar trying situations

[6] *Ep. Broet*, 286-291.

[7] *MI, Cons.*, I, 53, 58-59.

were encountered in the other universities of Italy, as also in Portugal and Germany.

Negotiations with the Duke of Gandia, Francis Borgia, were perhaps another reason. He had observed the Jesuit college at Valencia where the scholastics attended the University. Then he requested (in 1544), and obtained (March 14, 1545) authorization to establish a similar college at Gandia, where there was no university and where, consequently, the Jesuits themselves would have to do the teaching. Moreover, the Duke desired the classes to be open not merely to the Jesuit scholastics but also to externs. In his duchy he had many Agarenes, the descendants of some Christians who had apostasized to Mohammedanism in the seventh century. These Agarenes who lived near Gandia had recently been converted to Christianity; but Francis Borgia saw that they were not at all well instructed in the Faith. He hoped to train young Agarenes to become competent catechists with even some knowledge of philosophy and theology, that in their native tongue they might instruct other members of their race. Thus their spiritual good, rather than the training of Jesuit scholastics which could be done elsewhere, was his real and chief reason for endowing the college. These apostolic desires appealed to Ignatius, too. So he willingly acceded to Borgia's desires, and thereby accepted the teaching of externs among the apostolic ministries of the Society.

In 1546 classes in philosophy were begun at Gandia, with thirteen Jesuits and ten Agarenes in the college. Rightly did Father Nadal write in his Chronicle for 1546: "The College of Gandia was begun, and in it our men began to teach publicly *(inchoarunt publice nostri docere)*." And Father Polanco wrote for 1547 that this College of Gandia became also the first "university of general study" *(universitas studii generalis)* in the Society."[8] The papal charter granted it the rank of a university. A second form of Jesuit college had now evolved. Technically, it had the legal form of an endowed

[8] *MI, Font. Narr.*, II, 206-207. This should be noted in passing. From 1542 onward Jesuits helped by doing some of the teaching in the seminary at Goa, India. But this was not a college in their control until 1548.

house for Jesuit scholastics, which conducted classes for Jesuits open also to externs. But in reality, since the Jesuit scholastics could have been trained elsewhere, the spiritual good of these externs, the Agarenes and their race, was the chief motive for which the new college had been founded. The ministry of teaching profane subjects to extern students for a supernatural end had now been included within the scope of *"quodvis verbi divini ministerium."*[9]

In 1547 Ignatius tried to establish at Paris a similar college as a seminary for Jesuits and externs, but he was blocked by the civil authorities. He was frustrated in similar attempts at Dillingen in 1548, and at Ingolstadt in 1549, where Father Le Jay was his negotiator. Ignatius expressly stated that his chief aim was the apostolic one, the good of souls in Germany, and that the good of the Society was a "secondary end" *(pro secondario . . . fine)*.[10]

But through negotiations arising in 1547 he did successfully establish a college of the second form in Messina, Sicily. Father Jerome Domenech, admiring the success at Gandia and depressed by the low state both of religion and of education in Sicily, urged the Viceroy there to establish a similar college. Subsequently the magistrates of Messina, in order to gain for their citizens the benefits characteristic of Jesuit activities, asked Ignatius for masters to teach theology, the arts, rhetoric and grammar, and for other Jesuits, some to study and some to perform works of zeal. The magistrates offered to support all these from the city's taxes. In March, 1548, Ignatius sent five priests there as teachers and five scholastics as students. His words of instruction as they departed let them know that he expected this college to be more important for the service of God than any ministry previously attempted. His hopes were fulfilled beyond expectation. The college produced great spiritual fruit in Sicily, and a plan of studies was devised, with the pupils divided into classes, which was copied throughout the Society.

Like Francis Borgia, the founders at Messina were motivated to offer to support the Jesuit college chiefly by the

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[9] Nadal, *In Examen annotationes, ARSJ, Instit.*, 186a, 28v.

[10] *MI, Ep.* XII, 239.

benefit they expected for the youths of their city, though they consented also to support some Jesuit scholastics as a *seminarium Societatis*. Ignatius too was moved to accept the college chiefly by his desire of spiritual gain for the citizens, as his letters show.[11] Yet in the legal documents[12] he reverses the order of the magistrates and describes the school as a college for scholastics of the Society with the classes open also to the public. Why this inversion? Ignatius does not give his reason. But we observe that by the inversion he brought the new school into technical conformity with the papal bull of 1540. *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* had permitted endowments and fixed revenues for colleges for the scholastics of the Society. By the same papal bull, the ministries of the Society had to be given gratis. Since Ignatius now clearly regarded the teaching of externs as one of these ministries, it too had to be gratis. He could not in the legal formula lay himself open to the charge that he was accepting fixed revenues for this ministry of teaching.

It was at this same time, 1548, that he was bestowing intensive work on his *Constitutions of the Society*. Text a of them dates from about 1548, and the subsequent Text A from about 1550. It is only natural that he used the same procedures and manner of expression in the *Constitutions*. In them too the colleges are in many passages described as a *seminarium Societatis* with their classes open also to externs e.g. Part IV, *Proemium* [307]; c. 3, n. 1, B. [333, 338]; but the chief motive for accepting a college is often the spiritual good of the externs e.g., Part IV, c. 11, n. 1, [440]; Part VII, n. 1, D [622].

These developments at Gandia and Messina occurred in an era when men were awakening to the value of education. Cities which had recently been content with the haphazard results obtained from poorly paid and often itinerant schoolmasters, were now clamoring for schools—even for schools above the elementary rank. The Lutherans in Germany were developing better schools, with leaders such as Melanchthon (1497-1560) who published his *Ordnung* for his new *Obere*

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[11] E.g., *MI, Font. Narr.*, III, 749.

[12] Esp. *MI, Ep.* II, 29-30; XII, 340-341; *ARSJ, Sic.* 202, 44r, 46rv.

Schule in 1526, and Sturm (1507-1589) who took charge of the gymnasium in Strassburg in 1537. It was only natural that Catholic rulers were looking to the Society for something similar. It was natural, too, for Ignatius to see the value of the apostolate of teaching in colleges. They were a means extraordinarily suitable for spiritual renewal in his era.

3. The Ministry of Teaching and Papal Documents, 1549-1550

By 1549 experience had led Ignatius and his associates to introduce changes, not only in the form of the colleges, but also in the manner of life and of apostolate which the Pope had approved in the bull of 1540. Hence, in 1547 they took steps to have all these innovations approved in a new bull; and Paul III favored them with *Licet debitum* on October 18, 1549.

The bull of 1540 had granted the right to construct colleges *in universitatibus*, that is, near the universities already existent. The bull of 1549 gave the General a favor unusual for the time, the right to depute his subjects to give, with no further permission required from anyone, "lectures on theology and the other faculties . . . anywhere *(ubilibet)*."[13] Thus the college at Messina, where there was no other university, was legalized.

Did this right to teach anywhere pertain to Jesuit scholastics alone, or extend also to externs? The words do not compel the extended application. But in the light of the historical circumstances for which the bull was sought and granted, the need of legalizing the college of Messina, the words must be interpreted to refer also to externs. Indeed, the words were to be so interpreted in the bull *Salvatoris* of Gregory XIII in 1576.

But one small point was passed over as needing no change in juridical wording. Both bulls allowed the colleges steady revenues "applicable to the *students*" *(possessiones, usibus . . . studentium applicandas)*, but which the professed Society had no right to use for itself. The historical circumstance of need of covering the practice at Messina, and the later testimony of Father Polanco in 1565, when he wanted *studentium*

[13] *MI, Cons.* I, 367.

changed with papal approval to *collegialium,* are evidence that in the bull of 1549 both Ignatius and the Pope really meant "students *and others* living in the college," for example, the officials, the professors, and the spiritual *operarii.* But they did not state this, and thus unfortunately opened the door for later doubts, scruples, and controversies, which (as we shall see) did arise in about 1570. By living in colleges as a result of traditional usage, the professed and the formed coadjutors were de facto drawing benefit from the steady revenues. Did they have the right to do this, or were they violating their vow of poverty?

Chapter II. The Forms of Colleges in the Constitutions

Ignatius' concept of the colleges is enshrined in the *Constitutions of the Society,* especially in the seventeen chapters of Part IV. Now Part IV has a history more complicated than the other parts. To study this history we must carefully distinguish the following texts in which Part IV is found: Text a, of 1548-1550; A, composed in 1550 and shown at the end of that year to the professed fathers in Rome; B, named the "autograph" because on it Ignatius wrote his own corrections; C, approved by the First General Congregation of 1558; and D, the critical text of 1594.

The oldest text, a, contains only our present preamble, along with Chapters one through six and eight through ten. It contains many statements which at first blush seem to indicate that Ignatius accepted colleges only to train Jesuit scholastics. For example, its title is: "The Instruction of Those who Remain in the Society as Members." Chapter 3, n. 1 [333] begins: "We now take up the scholastics for whose instruction the colleges are undertaken." However, attentive examination of these texts in the light of other statements in text a reveals that already between 1548 and 1550, Ignatius had carefully inserted several new words into the Preamble. He did this to cover the practices at Gandia and Messina which were innovations in the colleges as approved in the bull of 1540: for example, the colleges could be "near universities *or apart from them*;" and he will treat "what concerns *the universities*"—and they were for externs.

Words such as these, plus the interpretation of Father Nadal, show that in text a Ignatius merely wrote incompletely about the colleges and did not exclude the work of teaching externs. In other words, before 1550 he approved the ministry of teaching publicly. Unfortunately, however, when he added the later chapters to give clearer treatment to the matters pertaining to the externs (seven, about classes for them, and eleven through seventeen about the universities), he did not go back to make the title of Part IV clearer and change the other obscure statements which really needed retouching.

These later chapters are not found in Text A of 1550, but they are in Text B, the autograph of 1556. Manuscripts in the *Archivum Romanum S.J.* prove that they were written before 1554. Ignatius opens Chapter 11, n. 1 [440] with these strong statements:

> Through the motive of charity, colleges are accepted, and classes open to the public are conducted in them for the improvement in learning and in living, not only of our own members, but even more especially of those from outside the Society. This same motive can be extended to our undertaking the management of universities, that through them this fruit sought in the colleges may be spread more universally because of the branches taught, the numbers attending, and the degrees granted.

These words, contained already in a manuscript which antedates Text B of 1556, reveal progress in Ignatius' thought. He has reached and approved a third form of colleges: colleges (or universities) intended principally for the benefit of externs, but with a *seminarium Societatis* attached.

At first sight, however, a subtle objection could be raised against the above reasoning. In the text, the classes are something distinct from the colleges; and the words more especially for the benefit of the externs refer only to the classes, not to the acceptance of the colleges themselves. Therefore this text still refers only to a college of the second form: a *seminarium Societatis* with classes open also to the public.

Examination of Ignatius' habitual use of the terms colleges and classes *(colegios* and *escuelas)* (for example, in *Cons.* Part IV, c. 12, B [449] and c. 15, D [477]) is enough to

refute this objection. But even stronger rebuttal is contained in a document of about 1556 which shows that Ignatius and his associates conceived the colleges and their classes as one moral unit; also, that for them a university was not something distinct from a college, but rather something still a college with classes or faculties of philosophy and theology added to it:

> Until now the Society has accepted two forms of colleges. Those in which she does not assume an obligation to give lectures are founded near a university. The other form consists of those in which the Society does assume an obligation to give lectures; and this form itself is of two kinds. The first kind is found when the college does not hold the privileges of a university; the second when the college itself is also a university (*Monumenta Paedagogica*, 25-33).

Further, Ignatius' practice till the end of his life confirms the statement that his concept has evolved into that of the third form of colleges. The statistics below reveal that from 1550 to 1556 he established many small colleges which really sought the benefit almost exclusively of externs.

His contemporaries have testified that his constant practice and intention was to change details of the Society's ministries and laws when experience revealed that an alteration would bring greater glory to God.[14] To permit incorporation of such changes during the rapid evolution of the Society's ministries from 1548 to 1556 was one important reason why he did not "close the Constitutions" before his death, but merely promulgated them experimentally. He desired the First General Congregation to give them their full legal force.[15]

In the First General Congregation in 1558, Father Polanco, desiring to keep the wording of various passages consistent, proposed that the word "more especially" in Part IV, c. 11, no. 1 [440], cited just above, should be altered to "and also." The Congregation, however, rejected his proposal and kept the words "even more especially" for the benefit of externs. In 1565 the Second General Congregation also retained these important words, "more especially." Consequently, the first

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[14] E.g., *ARSJ, Instit.* 178, I, 151r; *MI*, Ep. III, 503, 676.

[15] *Pol. Chron.* VI, 30, n. 107.

statement in *Constitutions*, Part IV, c. 11, n. 1 [440] has a juridical value which cannot be questioned. Furthermore, beyond any doubt that same passage mirrors Ignatius' practice and intention about the colleges: he regarded the apostolate of teaching externs as one of the Society's ministries.[16]

In resumé, Part IV of the *Constitutions*, as approved by the First General Congregation in 1558 and by Pope Gregory XIII in 1583, gave full juridical recognition to these three forms of Jesuit colleges or universities:

Form 1: A college with no classes and for Jesuit scholastics only, as that at Coimbra in 1546.

Form 2: A college with classes conducted chiefly or at least legally for Jesuit scholastics as a *seminarium Societatis*, but also open to externs, as those at Gandia or Messina.

Form 3: A college with classes conducted chiefly for externs, but also as a *seminarium Societatis*, as that at Naples. (In it there were twenty Jesuits, of whom one was the rector, one the minister, two spiritual *operarii*, one teaching priest, three teaching scholastics, five scholastics as students, seven brothers, and 160 extern students in four classes.) In actual practice, however, the *seminarium* was often nonexistent in colleges of the third form, as was the case in the colleges of Vienna and Lisbon.

Chapter III. The Further Evolution of the Colleges, 1550-1556

1. The Nature and Purpose of the New Colleges

A document[17] written in Rome in 1550 reveals another new development. In some colleges the Jesuits, in addition to teaching externs, were also exercising the priestly ministries for which the professed houses had been established. Moreover, after 1549 St. Ignatius and Father Lainez, probably because of the spiritual harvest reaped at Messina, urged the foundation of colleges of the third form, with the result that in foundations from 1550 to 1556 these colleges became far more common than the second form. From 1550 to 1552 over

[16] From time to time some Jesuits have doubted, even in our own day, that Ignatius willingly embraced education as a ministry of the Society, as Very Reverend Father General J. B. Janssens has testified (*Acta Romana S.J.*, XIII, 1960, pp. 784, 816-824). See also *AHSJ* XXIX, 1960, pp. 400-406.

[17] *ARSJ, Instit.* 178 I, 72r-73v; *Mon. Paed.*, p. 46.

ten colleges were founded clearly fitted to benefit externs rather than the Society. In 1552 Ignatius commissioned Father Polanco to state that scholastics can be sent to a college, not merely to learn, but also to help in the teaching and other tasks, at least, for example, when some of the regular teachers are ill.[18] Still another manuscript,[19] which Ignatius commissioned Father Polanco to write and which is entitled "A Summary Report on the Institute of the Society," describes the nature and purpose of its domiciles. In treating the colleges it has nothing to say about their being seminaries for the Society, but indicates that their function is publicly to teach humane letters, philosophy, or theology. It further states that in a place where the Society has no house but only a college, the Jesuits in the college can exercise the ministries proper to the houses. This, like the statement in Constitutions Part IV, c. 7, B [394], is tantamount to an admission that the colleges too can perform the functions of the professed house which had turned out to be so difficult to establish or conduct.

However, during this period some colleges of the second form continued to be established. An example is the Roman College which was opened in 1551. Ignatius intended it to be a seminary for the Society with its classes open also to the externs, that it might serve as a model for Jesuits of all provinces.

2. Ignatius' Zeal for Colleges of Humane Letters

After 1550 Ignatius displayed intense zeal to establish everywhere he could colleges whose chief purpose was the improvement of extern students in learning and virtue. He urged superiors in Spain, Portugal, Germany, and elsewhere to erect colleges like those of Messina or Rome. For example, in a letter to Father Araoz,[20] Provincial of Spain, he pointed out the benefits which such colleges will bring to the Jesuits who teach, preach, or study in these colleges, to the extern students, and to the city or region.

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[18] *MI, Ep.* XII, 309-310.
[19] *ARSJ, Instit.* 178 I, 46r.
[20] *MI, Ep.* IV, 5-9.

In 1554 Peter Canisius asked Ignatius about the means by which the Society could help Germany in its many spiritual dangers. Ignatius replied:[21]

> The best means to help the Church in this distress would be to multiply the colleges and schools of the Society in many regions, especially where it is thought that there will be a concourse of students.

These documents of 1550-1556 manifest Ignatius' final concept of the colleges and universities. He desired them to be institutions in which 1) extern students were to be taught; 2) various other priestly ministries were to be carried on; and 3) some Jesuit scholastics were to be formed for future apostolic work. His practice is further evidence that this was the concept he entertained during the last six years of his life. After the opening of the Roman College in 1551, virtually no college was founded chiefly for the benefit of the Society; but the number of small colleges with classes in humane letters open to externs rose to about thirty.

One contrast is striking. In this period Ignatius wrote many letters urging the foundation of colleges; but not even one document has been found in which he urged the foundation of professed houses. Under his direction the spiritual ministries proper to them were now being carried on by Jesuits living in the endowed colleges. Even though many of these Fathers, some of whom were the professed, were engaged not in teaching but in ministries exclusively spiritual, Ignatius manifested no anxiety whatever lest he and his Society might be violating the prescriptions about poverty in the papal bulls. Furthermore, during this period Ignatius was in frequent communication with the popes who could easily have remonstrated with him if he were acting against their intentions. But they manifested instead pleasure at the success of the Society's apostolate.

In 1555 Francis Borgia had an opportunity of inaugurating houses in three cities where there was good hope that they would develop into professed houses. He wrote to Ignatius about the matter. Ignatius commissioned Father Polanco to reply that he would rather have colleges:[22]

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[21] *MI, Ep.* XII, 261.

[22] *MI, Ep.* IX, 82-83.

> Our Father's intention is, especially in the beginning, that colleges should be multiplied and not houses. For it is necessary to have accommodations to receive and instruct many students.

3. The Formula of 1553 for Accepting Colleges

From 1550 to 1553 colleges multiplied so rapidly that it became difficult to find enough Jesuits to staff them properly. Some colleges, too, lacked adequate endowments. Hence, in 1553, Ignatius issued an ordination containing new norms.[23] For ten years no college was to be accepted unless fourteen Jesuits could be supported in it: two or three priests for sacerdotal ministries, four or five teachers to train the youths in learning and moral virtue, two coadjutors for temporal affairs, and a few scholastics who were to learn letters either in that college itself or elsewhere, and to substitute for the teachers in case of illness. All these Jesuits were to be free from begging or other temporal matters which might impede their work. If a city failed to provide all this within a year, the Jesuits were to abandon the incipient college and go elsewhere.

This ordination shows us that in Ignatius' concept, these small colleges were chiefly—in fact, almost exclusively—for the benefit of the extern students. He allowed the Jesuit scholastics living in the college to pursue their courses of study in near-by universities or to substitute for sick teachers. Clearly, therefore, he did not consider their presence *as students in the college* to be an element which was essential[24] if the college was to comply with the papal bull of 1550, *Exposcit debitum.*

Clearly, Ignatius desired each college to support some scholastics. But he did not require that to be legally constituted each college must contain Jesuit scholastics as students.

4. The Statistics of the Persons in Jesuit Domiciles in 1556

The Table gives our latest, well-documented[25] statistics about the number and distribution of persons in the Jesuit domiciles

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[23] *Institutum S.J., Decretum* LXXIII *Congregationis Generalis I.*

[24] *Mon. Paed.* 32; *ARSJ,* Hist. Soc. 174, 4r-5v; *Ep. Nadal* IV, 628.

[25] The sources, too lengthy for our space, are listed in *AHSJ,* XXIX, pp. 242-243.

of Europe when Ignatius died in 1556. Although future research may require change in some details, it is not likely to alter the substance of the picture. The table gives concrete illustrations, and confirms the chief conclusions reached above about Ignatius' practice and policies in the last ten years of his life. The following observations are especially noteworthy.

In 1556 the two professed houses, in Lisbon and Rome, were a tiny minority among the Society's domiciles; but the colleges had multiplied to the number of forty-six. Colleges of the first form (mere domiciles exclusively for Jesuit scholastics and conducing no classes) also were very few. They were located in cities which already had a famous university and where, consequently, it was difficult for the Jesuits to open classes to externs. Such was the case at Alcala, Salamanca, Valencia, Paris, Louvain, and Cologne. Through Ignatius' urging however, the colleges at Padua, Bologna, and Coimbra had by 1556 opened their classes to externs.

In the College of Seville some Jesuit Fathers were teaching theology to six Jesuit scholastics and no externs. With that one exception, there was no college conducting classes exclusively for Jesuit scholastics. In most of the colleges, the contract accepting the endowment put the Society under obligation to conduct classes for the extern students of the city. Most colleges, too, were teaching only humane letters. The College of Loretto was also teaching philosophy, and the Roman College both philosophy and theology. It is therefore clear that Ignatius and his Society were conducting most of the colleges chiefly for the benefit of externs. In thirty-four of the forty-six colleges listed in the table, the number of Jesuit students was less than twenty.

The Roman College, however, is a special case. It was being conducted for approximately equal numbers of Jesuits and externs. But this situation was to change in 1565, when the Second General Congregation decreed that each province should try to erect its own *studium generale*, that is, a college of philosophy and theology. From that year onward the Roman College too had more externs than Jesuits.

There were many small colleges which had no scholastics as students, though they had a few as teachers. Therefore

TABLE

Persons living in Jesuit Domiciles in 1556

Abbreviations: 1. TJ—Total Jesuits; 2. F—Fathers (Rector, Minister, Operarii); 3. TF—Teaching Fathers; 4. TS—Teaching Scholastics; 5. SS—Scholastic Students; 6. SN—Scholastic Novices; 7. B—Brothers; 8. Cl—Number of Classes; 9. E—Extern Students; 10. PrH—Professed House; 11. C—College or University; 12 Hp—House of First Probation.

	Domicile and Year Founded			TJ	F	TF	TS	SS	SN	B	Cl	E
		In Italy										
1	PrH	Rome	1540	c.60		12						
2	C	Padua	1542	11	3		3	1		4	3	c.90
3	C	Bologna	1546	9	4		3	1		1	3	c.120
4	C	Messina	1548	28	7	1	4	1	7	8	5	275
5	C	Palermo	1549	34	6	2	3	4	10	9	5	280
6	C	Tivoli	1550	5	1	1	1			2	2	103
7	C	Romanum	1551	c.100				72				
8	C	Venice	1551	12	2		2	3		5	2	60
9	C	Ferrara	1551	12	4		3	4		1	3	c.90
10	C	Florence	1552	14	4		4	3		3	4	
11	C	Naples	1552	20	4	1	3	5		7	4	160
12	C	Perugia	1552	9	2		4	1		2	4	170
13	C	Modena	1552	6	2		3	1			3	
14	C	Monreale	1553	8	2	1	2	1		2	3	120
15	C	Argenta	1554	4	1		1			2	1	50
16	C	Genoa	1554	13	2	1	4	5		1	5	226
17	C	Loretto	1555	58	7	2	1	40		8	3	
18	C	Syracuse	1556	9	3		3			3	3	150
19	C	Bivona	1556	11	3		4			4	4	170
20	C	Siena	1556	5	2		3				3	180
		In Spain										
1	C	Valencia	1544	25	6			9				
2	C	Gandia	1545	10	4	2				4	2	
3	C	Valladolid	1545	17	9			*				

		In Spain (continued)		TJ	F	TF	TS	SS	SN	B	Cl	E
4	C	Alcala	1546	36	5			27		4		
5	C	Barcelona	1546	8	4					4		
6	C	Salamanca	1547	28	1			21				
7	C	Burgos	1550	12	4		3	3		2	3	c.100
8	C	Medina del Campo	1553	15	5		5		2	3	4	170
9	C	Oña	1551	3	1					2		
10	C	Cordova	1553	26	6		c.5				c.5	300
11	C	Avila	1554	4	1					3		
12	C	Cuenca	1554	12	4		1		7		1	
13	C	Placencia	1554	22	9		5	3			5	170
14	C	Granada	1554	28	8				20			
15	C	Seville	1554	11	5			6				
16	Hp	Simancas	1554	22								
17	C	Murcia	1555	9	6							
18	C	Saragossa	1555	9	5					3		
19	C	Monterey	1556	5	3		2			4	2	80
		In Portugal										
1	C	Coimbra	1542	103				30				900
2	Hp	Coimbra		27								
3	C	Evora	1553	19	4		5	4		6	4	300
4	C	Lisbon	1553	18	5		5	2		6	5	600
5	PrH	Lisbon		22	7					15		
		Varia										
1	C	Paris	1540	13								
2	C	Louvain	1542	4								
3	C	Cologne	1544	17	5							
4	C	Vienna	1551	33	5		8		12	7	6	320
5	C	Prague	1556	19	2	1	6	8		3	5	
6	C	Billom	1556	10	4		5	1			5	800

* The others were students of philosophy and theology.

the presence of scholastics as students was not regarded as a necessary element to constitute a college juridically according to the *Constitutions*.

In the colleges, for example at Barcelona, were many priests who were not teaching but performing only the ministries proper to the professed houses. Yet by the mere fact of living in these colleges they were profiting from the steady revenues.

The First Part of our study can now be terminated with this brief resumé. Much evidence has shown that Ignatius' esteem of the ministry of forming youth through teaching extern students in Jesuit colleges grew constantly during the last ten years of his life. He bequeathed that esteem to his Society by both his practice and his *Constitutions*. It is beautifully reflected, too, in a letter which he commissioned Ribadaneira to write in 1556 to King Philip II of Spain.[26]

Second Part: The Controversies about the Poverty of the Colleges, 1556-1608

Chapter I. Ignatius' Concept of the Poverty of Jesuit Domiciles

In the First Part of our study we watched how Ignatius, as he profited from experience from 1539 to 1556, gradually formed his concept of the ministry of educating extern students through the colleges, and finally embodied that concept in his *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*. But once his legislation was enacted, its meaning, like that of any other code, was soon the object of controversies. We now direct our attention to them.

From 1570 to 1608 sincere Jesuits observed what seemed a disproportionate number of colleges and asked: are we not obliged to establish professed houses and to suppress colleges? Were colleges which had no *seminarium* of Jesuit students licit at all according to the papal bulls and the Jesuit *Constitutions*? Were the professed and formed coadjutors, who by living in the colleges were *de facto* profiting by their

[26] *MI, Ep.* X 705-706.

fixed revenues, violating their vows of poverty? For the papal bulls which allowed those revenues for the support of the students did not mention the officials, professors, or other priests engaged in sacerdotal ministries rather than teaching. The sure road to an understanding of the controverted legal technicalities is a review of the origin of the types of poverty in the Society, that of the professed houses and that of the colleges.

Ignatius' habitual procedure in organizing the Society from 1539 to 1556 was this. He kept his gaze fastened on the end to be attained, greater glory to God to be achieved through apostolic activity. Then he searched out the most efficient means he could think of for any given area of spiritual work, sought papal approval, and put the means into practice. Subsequently, in the light of experience and prayer he modified the means, and sought papal approval anew for the modified means.

In his private life, the gradual change in his attitude to poverty is an apt illustration of his penchant to modify earlier concepts as a result of experience. Inflamed with love of Christ at his conversion, he resolved to live on daily alms as a pilgrim for the rest of his life. But after his vision beside the River Cardoner near Manresa in 1522 he felt himself called by God to labor for the spiritual welfare of his neighbor. So he changed his uncouth manner of living to one more suitable for winning souls. Again, as a student at Paris he learned by experience that the need of daily begging seriously hindered study. Hence he modified his poverty still more, and in his summers he begged enough money to last him through the subsequent academic year.[27]

In similar manner, while he was organizing the Society he constantly modified its poverty because of emerging spiritual opportunities or needs. One evil besetting the Church in his day was the scandal given by ecclesiastics who were excessively bent on wealth and luxurious living. Ignatius and his companions wanted to offset this by giving an example exactly the opposite. The life which they lived after their vows at Montmartre in August, 1534, can be epitomized in

[27] *MI, Font. Narr.* II, 75-76.

these words of Nadal: to preach the word of God in complete poverty while living on daily alms.[28] In Rome in 1539, while taking their first steps to organize their order, they resolved that its members should profess the poverty of mendicants, and that neither they, as a group, nor the houses, in which they were to live, could possess endowments or fixed revenues. But aware that they would have to train young men, and that daily begging would be incompatible with these youths' progress in learning, they decided that the colleges or domiciles of these Jesuit scholastics could possess endowments and fixed revenues, exclusively for the support of the scholastics. However, the professed members and their houses were strictly forbidden to use these revenues for their own benefit.[29]

Hence arose the two kinds of poverty in the Society. Neither kind is in itself more perfect than the others, since, as Suarez writes in *De Religione Societatis Jesu,*[30] "the whole perfection of religious poverty consists in its proportion to the purpose of the religious institute, according to the doctrine of St. Thomas." Ignatius, now a priest but not yet General, and his associates had all these arrangements approved in the papal bull of 1540, *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae.*

But already in 1541 they found it desirable for the sake of a greater good, their apostolate, to make a slight retrenchment in that complete poverty of the professed houses. The need of seeking alms every day turned them from spiritual ministrations to temporal concerns, and it also offended the very people whom they had hoped to win to Christ.[31] Therefore they decided that a professed house could have steady revenues to meet its extraordinary expenses, though it must continue to meet ordinary expenses, such as food and clothing, by alms alone.[32] This was a third type of poverty in the Society, but it lasted only a short while. The retrenchment of 1541 is no longer existent in the passage about professed

[28] *Ibid.*, II, 87, n. 84.
[29] *MI, Cons.* I, 29, n. 6; cf. *Examen* I, 3 [4].
[30] *Lib.* IV, *cap.* 10, n. 1, p. 751 in *Op. Omn.* XVI, Paris, 1866.
[31] *MI, Cons.* I, 63, n. 28.
[32] *Ibid.*, I, 62, nn. 27-28.

houses in the formula of 1545 for accepting colleges. By that year Ignatius, now General, had gone through his deliberations of 1544 and 1545 about poverty—including the thoughts which he recorded in the surviving fragments of his *Spiritual Diary*.[33] At this time, too, he was gathering material for his *Constitutions of the Society*, but not yet composing them.

After he again resolved on the twofold poverty, Ignatius wanted the professed houses and the colleges to follow in the future their separate ways, with the professed houses receiving no benefit from the fixed revenues of the colleges and the colleges getting nothing from the alms of the professed houses. This desire implied that he expected the professed houses to be multiplied more—or at least as much as—the colleges. For otherwise the professed members would have to live in the colleges where they would be benefiting from the fixed revenues, and their poverty would be only on paper.

This expectation was not fulfilled in fact. During the last years of his life he saw that there were only two professed houses and forty-six colleges; and that of all the ministries of the Society that of teaching externs in the colleges seemed to be producing the most far-reaching spiritual results. Yet in these years he was in deep spiritual peace. He wrote to the University of Paris in 1556:[34]

> We have a very few houses which are supported by alms, but many colleges which draw their support from fixed revenues, or from the revenues which are given by the founders, and which do not even receive small gifts.

Clearly, without any anxiety of conscience Ignatius accepted this situation as the will of Providence.

Chapter II. The General Congregations from 1558 to 1580.

The Desire to Multiply Professed Houses and Avoid Further Small Colleges

Some of Ignatius' best Jesuits, however, did not feel peace of conscience over this matter. For example, in a letter of

[33] *Ibid.*, I, 78-81, 86-158.
[34] *MI, Ep.* XII, 627, n. 4.

early 1558 St. Francis Borgia stated that the coming General Congregation ought to discuss the promotion of poverty, especially through multiplying the professed houses.[35] He thought that circumstances had changed and that they would be more practical than in Ignatius' lifetime; that therefore each province ought to have at least one. Father Lainez, now General, disagreed and urged cautious procedure, lest harm be done to the marvelous spiritual fruit being reaped from the colleges by making it harder to find founders for them. Like Ignatius in 1555, he thought that more colleges would be better than more professed houses.

In the First General Congregation, too, some German Fathers desired the establishment of a professed house in their province. Others countered by pointing out that even daily begging would not bring sufficient food in Germany then.[36] Still others thought that it is contrary to the *Constitutions* for the professed to live in colleges. Father Lainez replied that the *Constitutions* truly permitted this, Part VI, c. 2, C [558] if the work of the professed was necessary or useful for the college. The *Constitutions,* not yet printed, were not at the time very well known. Father Polanco, however, who knew not only the *Constitutions* but also Ignatius' interpretation and practice, feared future trouble from some obscurities. From the Congregation he wanted—but failed to get—a declaration that the professed be allowed to live in the colleges in regions where begging was impractical. Also, a few Spanish Fathers wanted—but failed to get—a decree converting small colleges into houses, lest priests be excessively occupied in teaching. Such an alteration of a college would have entailed infidelity to the wishes of its founders.

In the Second General Congregation in 1565 still graver reasons were brought against the multitude of small colleges, especially on the ground that they were keeping too many priests from ministerial work. Thus, tacitly and perhaps unawares, these Jesuits were censuring the procedure of St. Ignatius and Father Lainez. Father Polanco opposed them. The Congregation recommended to the new General, St.

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[35] *MHSJ, Borgia* III, 342-353, esp. 344-345.

[36] *ARSJ, Germ.* 138 II, 424r.

Francis Borgia, moderation in acceptance of small colleges, but it did not forbid them. The number of Jesuits required, which Ignatius had set at fourteen in 1553, was raised to twenty. Thus the Congregation provided for the complaints based on inconveniences of insufficient personnel and endowments.

But shortly after the Congregation, there arose serious doubts of a juridical nature. Missionaries in the Indies were living in a domicile which they hoped would become a college, but they were not teaching. Rather, their ministries were those proper to the professed houses. Yet they were living on fixed revenues; indeed nothing else seemed possible. This was a case not provided for by the two types of poverty described in the *Constitutions*. The General, St. Francis Borgia, thought their practice illicit but too complicated for him to decide upon without much further study.[37]

In 1573 the Third General Congregation in its seventeenth decree urged the new General, Father Mercurian, to try to establish professed houses. There was manifestly fear that the poverty of the colleges with fixed revenues would become in practice the only type in the Society, and that the other type, that of living on daily alms, would disappear. Many efforts to establish professed houses were made, but all met with poor success.

In 1576 Father Polanco pointed out one reason. In many places a professed house would have to accommodate thirty or forty Jesuits. To meet their ordinary and extraordinary expenses by daily begging with no fixed revenues would be virtually impossible. Not even the professed house in Rome had successfully met expenses. There was a second reason. In the colleges, many priests were exercising the ministries proper to the professed houses, and so the colleges rendered the professed houses unnecessary. Colleges endowed with fixed revenues and educating the young men of the region were less burdensome and irritating to a city than a professed house of priests continually begging.

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[37] Such residences received official approval only later in 1600 when sixty years of experience had demonstrated the moral impossibility of founding professed houses in any significant number.

Although these sincere Jesuits were tortured by these juridical difficulties about poverty, they continued to think that teaching externs was one of the most proper and important ministries of the Society. For example, Father Lanoy wrote from Innsbrück[38] in 1560: "Where the populace has been completely subverted and keeps away from the sermons of the Catholic preachers, no hope seems left except the right and Christian education of the youth as yet uncorrupted." Also, Father Bustamante, Provincial of Andalusia, wrote to Father Lainez on June 28, 1559, that this work done in the colleges, "while being that which the Society can do at less cost to itself, is the most profitable of all its employments."[39] These words faithfully echo Ignatius' instructions when he sent Nadal in 1553 to promulgate the *Constitutions* in Spain: he was to have the form of the colleges of Italy introduced, "especially in the more important places, where more spiritual profit and edification can follow."[40]

Chapter III. Beginnings of the Controversies about the Nature and Purpose of the Colleges, 1571-1586

The controversies now turned to another problem: the liceity of the small colleges which did not in practice have a *seminarium* of Jesuit scholastics in the capacity of students. Through its provincial congregation of 1571 the Province of Aragon expressed its opinion that the colleges must be also seminaries training Jesuit scholastics. It requested the General, St. Francis Borgia, to permit only those colleges "which are necessary to attain this end" of training the scholastics. We know that this norm was false, because by omitting mention of the ministry of educating lay youth it implied that the training of Jesuit scholastics was the only purpose of the colleges, or at least their chief and necessary purpose. But by his practice after 1548 and by his *Constitutions* Part IV, c. 11, n. 1 [440], Ignatius had promoted small colleges

[38] *MHSJ, Lit. Quad.*, IV, 443.
[39] *MHSJ, Lainez*, IV 397.
[40] *MI, Ep.* IV, 13 (in *AHSJ*, XXIX, 233, n. 189).

chiefly or solely for the benefit of externs. The classes for externs could not be called something secondary and accidentally added.

Nevertheless, in 1573 the provincial congregation of Aragon again asked the General "to declare whether it is licit for colleges to exist where our scholastics are not instructed, but are lecturers only," and it gave the reason for its difficulty: "According to the papal bulls and the *Constitutions* the purpose of the colleges is that they may be a seminary of the Society, and the opening of schools is an accidental addition *(ex accidenti adjungatur)*; but practice reveals something different: for there are many colleges where no scholastics are being instructed."[41] To this the new General, Father Mercurian, replied that colleges without scholastics are truly colleges, but incomplete or inchoative colleges as long as their revenues are insufficient to support a seminary of Jesuit scholastics."

Meanwhile, however, new fuel had been unwittingly added to the fire. In 1572 Father Pedro Ribadaneira had published his *Life of St. Ignatius* in Latin at Naples. In 1583 he published an edition in Spanish at Madrid, and flames of serious controversy soon appeared. Book III, Chapter 22, contained a beautiful section on the utility of the apostolate of teaching. Here Ribadaneira mentioned two forms of Jesuit colleges: 1) the seminaries in which Jesuit scholastics prepare themselves for their priestly lives, and 2) those in which Jesuits are "not the learners but rather the teachers of all branches." Thus, by omitting mention of colleges which were conducted for both Jesuits and externs, he asserted—apparently for the first time in published writing—that Jesuit colleges could exist for externs *alone*. The documents of St. Ignatius' day—though not his practice—did always show the colleges as being simultaneously seminaries for Jesuits and schools to train externs. Father Ribadaneira's presentation went contrary to the case which the fathers of Aragon had been propounding for ten years, and it quickly drew their fire. In the Province of Toledo, too, his book was subjected to censorship. The report sent to Rome stated that the first purpose of the colleges was

[41] *ARSJ, Congr.* 93, 98r.

to be *seminaria Societatis*, and that the colleges which had no such *seminarium* were not in accordance with the papal bulls and the *Constitutions*.[42]

In 1586 a rather free Italian translation of Father Ribadancira's Spanish *Life of St. Ignatius* was published in Venice. Similar criticism quickly appeared. The Assistant for Portugal, Father Emmanuel Rodrigues, wrote a severe censure in which he maintained that "to teach externs is the secondary and accidental purpose, and to teach Jesuits is the primary and essential end of the colleges." We know that Father Rodrigues' censure is inaccurate because it overshoots its mark. In the colleges which Ignatius had founded principally and almost exclusively for externs, the primary purpose was to teach the externs, and not Jesuits. Hence, the teaching of externs could not be called something merely "secondary and accidental." Ignatius had even stated through Father Polanco in a letter of about 1553 that the function of these colleges "is to teach all who come from without (beyond our own students)."[43] Father Rodrigues, of course, cannot be blamed for not knowing this letter, because it was unavailable to him. But he could have known Ignatius' statement in *Constitutions*, Part IV, c. 11, n. 1 [440]. The education of externs was, also, the chief reason for which most founders had signed the contracts by which they endowed colleges, and it could hardly be regarded as secondary and accidental. And if colleges of the third form achieved their chief purpose of training the externs, omission of their secondary purpose, the training of scholastics, could well be tolerated, at least for a time—especially in provinces where a large college with more facilities could train the young Jesuits better. However, the historical fact is that Jesuits of 1586 were scandalized by the existence of small colleges for externs which had no *seminarium Societatis*.[44]

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[42] *MI, Scripta de S. Ign.*, I, 738.

[43] *ARSJ, Instit.* 178 I, 46r.

[44] Such colleges without a *seminarium* were explicitly declared licit by Decree XXVII of the Eighth General Congregation in 1646.

Chapter IV. The New Formula for Accepting Colleges, 1588-1593

Father Claude Aquaviva was General from 1581 to 1615. This was a period of extraordinary stress, both internal and external, in the history of the Society, and he would merit great praise if he had done no more than hold the Society together. But he did much more. Among many other accomplishments he completed and promulgated the celebrated *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599. Nevertheless, during this troubled period the work of education was only one of his many cares. As we survey his educational work we must remember that the historical information now available in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* was not nearly as easily accessible to him as to ourselves. Hence, he deserves our indulgence if in some respects his knowledge of this field as a whole is found to be less comprehensive than our own.

In about 1586 the Assistant for Portugal, Father Emmanuel Rodrigues, in composing *agenda* for the Fifth General Congregation wrote his opinion that Father Lainez' *Formula* of 1564 for accepting colleges ought to be replaced by a new *Formula* "which would be in accordance with the papal bulls and the *Constitutions*;" also, that "the small colleges were not seminaries of the Society as they ought to be, but rather its burden and ruination *(gravamina, immo ruinam)*."[45]

Among the General's collaborators Father Rodrigues was not alone in holding that opinion. In fact, Father Aquaviva himself maintained that the small colleges which were not truly seminaries of the Society were against its Institute, and he was eager to remedy this situation.[46] He always showed himself more ready to turn down than to accept new colleges; and already in 1585 he wrote that he had rejected about sixty offers to found such schools. He too was convinced that the small colleges for externs were a burden to the Society and should not be accepted unless "for evident utility of the Society." In this attitude he differs from his predecessors

[45] *ARSJ, Congr.* 20ª, 233-234.

[46] *ARSJ, Congr.* 95, 253r; *AHSJ* XXVIII, 1959, 340; *ARSJ Congr.* 94 I, 94rv; *Congr.* 95, 112v.

in the generalate. From St. Ignatius onward they had often accepted these institutions more for the spiritual welfare of the extern students and their cities than for that of the Society.

In 1588 Father Aquaviva, in order to check the desire of externs and provincials to multiply colleges, composed a new *Instruction*[47] about what should be done and what avoided when foundations were offered. In it he presupposed that all the colleges ought to be seminaries for the Society. He even stated explicitly that a college ought to maintain, in its own institution or elsewhere, a seminary large enough to provide its own replacements; and that otherwise it would be a grievous burden *(maximum onus)* on the Society. He openly stated that very few *(paucissima)* of the colleges then existent were able to measure up to these requirements.

His last assertion is an implicit charge—henceforth to be echoed by many other Jesuits—that his predecessors had failed to keep the colleges up to the norms established by the *Constitutions*. Had the Society, then, in reality fallen away from its primitive spirit? His assertion must be diligently examined if we are to appraise it correctly. On what did he base the charge?

First, consideration should be given to the number of Jesuits which the various Generals had envisaged as a suitable staff for a college. In the earliest years of the apostolate of teaching externs, St. Ignatius was willing to inaugurate a college with even a few Jesuit teachers. In the *Formula* legislating for 1553-1563, however, he required founders to provide support for fourteen Jesuits with about this distribution: two or three priests for spiritual ministrations, four or five teachers, two brothers, and three or four scholastics as students. Father Lainez in his *Formula* of 1564 asked for support for twenty Jesuits in a small college of three classes in humane letters, or thirty Jesuits when these classes numbered five; fifty Jesuits in a college of medium size; and seventy in one of large size. In a small college the distribution was: four priests (rector, minister, two spiritual laborers termed *operarii*), four teachers, seven scholastics as students,

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[47] *ARSJ Instit.* 40, 109r-111, published in *AHSJ* XXX, 1961, pp. 69-75.

and five brothers. Father Aquaviva raised these numbers to fifty Jesuits required in a small college of five classes, eighty in one of medium size which also taught a class in philosophy, and 120 in a large college *(collegium maximum)* which had classes in humane letters, philosophy, and theology, and therefore was classified as a *studium generale* or university. In the small college of five classes manned by fifty Jesuits, Father Aquaviva set down this distribution, (which in reality adds up to fifty-four) : five officials for governing the house, eight teachers, five spiritual *operarii*, eighteen coadjutors, and eighteen scholastics as students to constitute the *seminarium Societatis.*

Thus, Father Aquaviva conceived that a small college conducted by thirty-six Jesuits should maintain also a seminary of eighteen scholastics; and it was with this concept of the colleges and these numbers in mind that he wrote his disturbing words: very few *(perpauca)* of the existing colleges were able to fulfill the requirements. These numbers, too, reveal why he opined that most of the colleges were not truly seminaries increasing the Society's numbers, but rather her calamity and ruin *(calamitas et vastatio).* His requirements naturally deterred provincials and founders from setting up new colleges.

Many of the contemporary Jesuits shared his opinion and openly expressed their fear that the Society had fallen away from its primitive spirit of fidelity to the papal bulls and to its own *Constitutions.* But in passing we can make this observation. It was not in truth St. Ignatius' spirit and *Constitutions* to which the Society of 1590 was failing to live up. Rather, the Society was merely not living up to the then current interpretation of that spirit and those *Constitutions.* In the light of our present knowledge of the documents and what they meant to St. Ignatius' contemporaries for whom they were written, that interpretation cannot be called correct.

It is hard for us today to understand Father Aquaviva's desire to increase the number of Jesuits in each small college, or even his reluctance to admit new colleges which would have extended the Society's apostolate more effectively. It becomes still harder in the light of other contemporary occurrences. Complaints were coming in to Rome like that which Father

Antonio Possevino proposed to the Fourth General Congregation in 1581—the Congregation which elected Father Aquaviva: "In most of the colleges in Italy the Jesuits have insufficient work *(otiantur)*; and colleges which formerly taught 600 or 800 students now instruct only 300."[48] A provincial congregation of the Roman Province made similar complaints in 1590, whereupon Father Aquaviva composed a letter on the avoidance of idleness *(ad fugiendum otium)*.

Father Aquaviva thought that in his *Formula* for accepting colleges he was following the ideas of St. Ignatius and Father Lainez, and that his own concept of the nature and purpose of the colleges was identical with theirs. He was aware that the colleges conducted by St. Ignatius and Father Lainez did not at all measure up to his own concept; but he thought that his predecessors had merely tolerated these shortcomings because the Society was still in its infancy. He felt that the circumstances had changed by his day, and that he should tolerate the deficiencies no longer. "What our Fathers did according to the times and primitive beginning of the Society," he wrote, "is one thing . . . but what they handed down to us in their *Constitutions* and decrees is something different."[49]

Here too Father Aquaviva reveals a presupposition which is historically erroneous: that the small colleges whose chief, and at times only, purpose was to benefit externs had come into being before the Society was formed through the *Constitutions*; that these colleges had somehow survived after the *Constitutions* were written, and consequently were burdens rather than seminaries for the Society. The very opposite is the truth. Almost all of the *Constitutions* were written by 1550, and it was in the period immediately following (1551-1556) that St. Ignatius showed his greatest zeal to diffuse the small colleges whose chief purpose was the benefit of the externs. It was because of the experience that he gained from this apostolate that he added to Part IV, perhaps about 1553, chapters 7 and 11 through 17.

There was another reason which contributed toward leading Father Aquaviva to his outlook on the colleges which was

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[48] *ARSJ, Congr.* 20b, 256v.

[49] *ARSJ, Instit.* 40, cited in *AHSJ* XXX, 1961, p. 72.

different from that of Ignatius. Father Aquaviva was at the time inclined to a life more of contemplation than of action,[50] and to promote devotions more characteristic of contemplation. Two of his close associates in government testified to this inclination about 1590, Father Emmanuel Rodrigues, Assistant for Portugal, and Father Paul Hoffaeus, Assistant for Germany. This led to tension and division of opinion in the circle of Father Aquaviva's collaborators, since Father Maggio and Father Alarcón, Assistants for Italy and Spain, approved his ideas while Father Hoffaeus and Father Rodrigues opposed them. This dissension became publicly known to the Fathers Procurator sent to Rome in 1590. They thought and wrote[51] that "a foreign spirit was being introduced, drawing our men away from their Institute and impeding the ministries of the Society." Circumstances such as these could, of course, have contributed to the formation of Father Aquaviva's severe opinion of 1588 that the colleges, in practice benefiting externs rather than the Jesuits, were threatening ruin to the Society.

In 1593 the Fifth General Congregation examined Father Aquaviva's new *Formula* and reduced the numbers of Jesuits it required respectively from fifty to thirty, eighty to sixty, and one hundred twenty to one hundred. But even this mitigated requirement turned out to be impossible in practice. In 1645 the Eighth General Congregation abrogated the *Formula* of 1588 and permitted acceptance of a college if it would support twenty Jesuits.

Chapter V. Colleges with Fixed Revenues but no Jesuit Students, 1593-1594

To inform the provinces of his thought before the approaching Fifth General Congregation of 1593, Father Aquaviva sent them in 1590 a summary of his *Formula* for the colleges. From this resumé Jesuits everywhere gathered the opinion

[50] See J. De Guibert, *La Spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Rome, 1953), pp. 220, 228-229.

[51] See *AHSJ* XXVI, 1957, 3-56, esp. pp. 22, n. 74, and XXVII, 1958, p. 293.

that the Society had fallen away from its primitive spirit of the *Constitutions*, since they seemed to require that every college be a seminary for the Society, something which few were in actual practice. Two serious scruples arose. First, in such colleges, was it licit for the professed or the formed spiritual coadjutors to live on the fixed revenues which seemed to have been permitted only to sustain the Jesuit scholastics? Second, in the colleges were many professed and spiritual coadjutors whose assigned work was priestly ministration and not teaching, and who therefore did not seem to be strictly necessary or useful to the colleges. Was it permissible for them to live in these colleges where they too did in fact profit from the fixed revenues? By the *Constitutions* they seemed to be obliged to live on alms in the professed houses. And yet in most places, there were no professed houses.

On this latter scruple the Belgian Province was the first to propose its doubt to the General Congregation of 1593. Father Aquaviva replied that there was no need to be anxious about this matter, because in his opinion any priest living in a college could be called at least somewhat useful to it. In the General Congregation the most discussion fell on the first point of anxiety, the small colleges which had fixed revenues but no Jesuit scholastics as students. Father Fonseca, the celebrated professor of philosophy and formerly Assistant for Portugal, wrote that such colleges were illicit because the Institute permitted the revenues only for the sake of the scholastics; but that they could be retained in the hope of their being converted into such seminaries. To relinquish them, indeed, would violate the contracts with founders and cause scandal. Moreover, Ignatius himself had permitted them. Father Francis Arias also thought that the steady revenues could be used only for the support of the Jesuit students, but he proposed a different solution: to seek from the Holy See a declaration permitting the other Jesuits in a college to live on its revenues. Another Father thought that the colleges interfered with the mobility of the professed, who ought to be free to be sent on missions anywhere in the world. The authors of all these arguments manifestly had poor knowledge of two important factors: 1) chapters 11 through 17 of Part IV of the *Constitutions* and 2) the practice

of St. Ignatius which is the indispensable guide to accurate interpretation of the entire Part IV.

Father Paul Hoffaeus, however, was one outstanding exception. In Rome as Assistant for Germany from 1581 to 1591 he labored to gain an intimate knowledge both of the legal documents (the papal bulls and the *Constitutions*) and also of the historical practice by which the Society had been governed. With patient labor he read an immense quantity of official letters from the generalates of Ignatius, Lainez, Borgia, and Mercurian. He copied copious extracts which pertained to the debated problems, and which are still preserved in the Roman Archives of the Society. He also wrote a work which he entitled his *Replies to Doubts about the Examen and Constitutions,* and which seems equal in merit to Father Nadal's *Scholia on the Constitutions.* These works reveal to us the opinions which Father Hoffaeus may well have expressed in the Fifth General Congregation in 1593.[52]

He accurately captures the abstract legalistic temperament and ideas of his contemporaries when he puts them into this doubt about the Preamble of Part IV of the Constitutions.

> Since the objective which the Society directly seeks etc.—From this Preamble it follows that in the whole Fourth Part the matter treated is the formation in learning of our scholastics alone, and not of externs. For what contribution to our end is made by educating externs in humane letters or even philosophy, in order that they may become later on advocates, courtiers, and the like? Therefore, either the education of externs is not treated in Part IV, or this Preamble is defective *(mancum).*

Then, like a breath of fresh air after the long and stuffy legalism comes Father Hoffaeus' succinct and admirable reply which expresses both the ideas and the practice of Ignatius:

> It is not the Society's intention that the formation in learning should be carried on for the sake of our own members alone, but also for the sake of externs, as is evident from Part IV, c. 11, n. 1 [440]. And in this education of externs the Society seeks not only that they become learned, but simultaneously learned and good, as can also be seen in Part IV, c. 16, n. 1 [481]. And it is not foreign to the scope of the Society to provide the means in order that the externs may in time turn out to be good and pious physi-

[52] *ARSJ*, München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatarchiv, *Jesuitica* 6 (prius 5) 75v-76r.

> cians, jurists, courtiers, and the like. For, such men can make contributions of great utility toward the salvation of souls, and the consolation and help of the Christian religion. This is something which does belong to the end which the Society intends.[53]

This reply justifies the inference that Father Hoffaeus thought the *Preamble of Part IV* defective insofar as it fails to mention the education of externs. The truth is that this Preamble is defective by being incomplete. After St. Ignatius added to Part IV chapters 7 and 11 through 17 relative to the ministry of educating externs, he did not revise or even retouch the *Proemium* to bring it into express verbal harmony with the new chapters. As early as 1558 Father Polanco and the First General Congregation had shown awareness of this deficiency,[54] and of the similar incompleteness found in Part IV, c. 3, n. 1 [333]: "We now take up the scholastics for whose instruction the colleges are intended." But they thought the matter sufficiently covered by St. Ignatius' clear statement in Part IV, c. 11, n. 1 [440]: "Colleges are accepted, and classes open to the public, are conducted in them for the improvement in learning and in living not only of our own members, but even more especially of those from outside the Society."

Surprisingly, the opponents of small colleges chiefly for externs constantly referred to the two passages in the *Preamble* [307, 308] and c. 3, n. 1, [333], and never to c. 11, n. 1 [440]. Here, too, Father Hoffaeus is the exception. He rightly relied heavily on c. 11, n. 1 [440], and maintained that small colleges could be accepted chiefly for the benefit of externs, but would be still somewhat incomplete if they did not have a small *seminarium* of Jesuit scholastics. He further wisely maintained that a small college could support these Jesuit scholastics as students somewhere else.[55] All this was completely in accord with Ignatius' practice from 1550 to 1556.

Equally sound and marvelous for his era is Father Hoffaeus' opinion on the other hotly debated problem of colleges which have steady revenues but no Jesuit students. The adversary

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[53] *Ibid.* 6 (*prius* 5); also 2, and *ARSJ, Instit.* 51 I-II.

[54] See *AHSJ*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 215-217, 223.

[55] München, Bayerisches Haupstaatarchiv, *Jesuitica* 6, 197v-198r.

of such colleges states that in the *Constitutions* and papal bulls there is

> "only one reason why the colleges may possess fixed revenues, namely, for the sake of the students, that, freed from the distraction of begging, they may be able to apply themselves in peace to their studies. Therefore, if the colleges are not supporting a seminary of students, they may not have fixed revenues. For it is stated in *Examen* I, 4 [5] that these revenues may not be spent for another purpose."

Father Hoffaeus replies:

> "The colleges have fixed revenues for the sake not only of those studying but also of those teaching, as is clearly evident from Part IV, c. 2, n. 6 G [332] and c. 11, n. 1, [440]. Consequently, it is permissible also that formal coadjutors and the professed used the fixed revenues of the colleges if they are useful to the colleges, by teaching and giving aid, Part VI, c. 2, n. 4 [560] and c. 3, C, [558] and Part IV, c. 10, A [442]. Furthermore, if those who are to teach the students are supported, does this not result in utility to the students? Finally, even the teachers can be called students, in so far as by teaching others they also teach themselves.[56]

Father Hoffaeus further maintained that those priests living in a small college and occupied in spiritual duties but not in teaching could also use the steady revenues, because of *Constitutions* Part IV, c. 2, [330] and Part VI, c. 2, C [558]; also Part IV, c. 7, n. 3 [398] and c. 8, n. 1 [400] and Part VII, c. 2, D [622]; c. 4, n. 1 [636].

Many of the Jesuits however, were basing their case against the small colleges without scholastics not on the *Constitutions* but on the papal bulls. *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* in 1540 allowed endowments and fixed revenues to the colleges as applicable only to the students (*possessiones . . . necessitatibus* studentium *applicandas*) so that the professed could not use them for their own uses; and even after Ignatius had allowed their use for the teachers, spiritual operarii, and officials as well as for students at Messina and elsewhere after 1548, the word *studentium* had remained unchanged in *Licet debitum* in 1550. To these adversaries, too, Father Hoffaeus wrote a correct reply which went right to the point:

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[56] *Ibid.*, 6, 5r.

Obj: "*Studentium applicandas.*" Therefore by papal authority colleges in which there are no [Jesuit] students cannot have fixed revenues; and it is not enough if teachers live there.

I reply: see my notations on *Examen* c. 1, n. 4 [5], where it is stated [by me] that according to the *Constitutions* fixed revenues are possessed also for the support of the teachers. And the *Constitutions* have been approved by the Apostolic See.[57]

As early as 1558 Father Polanco had wanted to change the word "students" in the papal bull to "those living in the college" *(studentium* to *collegialium)* and to seek papal approval of the change, because he foresaw possible difficulties in interpretation like those which did rage for nearly forty years after 1570. But the First General Congregation, made up of members who were long habituated to Ignatius' own practice in interpreting the papal bulls and his *Constitutions,* was not yet troubled by Father Polanco's difficulties, and voted him down.[58] No doubt his difficulties then seemed only an academic problem. But if only Father Polanco had won that vote! The needless and fruitless controversies of 1570 to 1608 would have been forestalled.

The replies of Father Hoffaeus, because they are based on his comprehensive knowledge both of the legal documents and of the historical circumstances which is necessary to interpret the documents aright, are marvels for their time. They give him the stature of a giant among his contemporary Jesuits who were basing their opinions almost exclusively on analysis of the words in legal texts.

Chapter VI. The Consultations of 1600

The Fifth General Congregation decided that the problem of colleges with fixed revenues but no Jesuits as students was something too complicated to be settled without further study. It requested the General to investigate the matter with his Assistants. What Father Aquaviva did about it in the years immediately following is not known. But the anxiety about

[57] *Ibid.*, 6, 212v. The approval was by Pope Gregory XIII in *Quanto fructuosius*, Feb. 1, 1583.

[58] See *AHSJ* XXIX, 1960, p. 213.

poverty and infidelity to the *Constitutions* increased throughout the Society.

In 1600 Pope Clement VIII sensed the existence of trouble and expressed a desire to help in solving the problem of formed members benefiting by the revenues of small colleges. A congregation of Procurators, making recommendations at his request, brought out that "cities prefer the education of youth through schools, rather than professed houses." This statement reveals that the real reason why professed houses had not been widely established was the virtual impossibility of finding founders—not the multiplication of colleges for externs which Father Aquaviva and many Jesuits had for years regarded as the cause. This congregation suggested to the Pope that the Society should try to establish residences *(residentiae)* in which the professed not necessary or useful to the colleges could live, and which might in time develop into professed houses.[59] In 1599 Father Aquaviva had urged in somewhat similar vein that the professed should be sent often from the colleges on missions in the surrounding areas, and that temporary residences should be established as their dwellings. He also appointed professors to study the debated questions about the colleges more deeply. Another document[60] of about 1600 (whose author is unknown but may well be Father Aquaviva) urges establishment of residences where professed not truly necessary or useful to the colleges may live on alms, or if this becomes impossible, even on fixed revenues.

In 1600 Father Aquaviva appointed a committee of experts to investigate the vexed problems about poverty. Among them was Father Gregory of Valencia, prefect of studies of the Roman College. These experts, too, wrote that all the colleges of the Society were instituted for the training of the scholastics. This assertion is true only of the first form of colleges. Somehow these experts overlooked the fact that from 1548 onward Ignatius had developed colleges of the second and third forms, without thinking that he was unfaithful to the papal bulls or his own *Constitutions*.

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[59] *ARSJ, Congr.* 26, 149r.

[60] In *AHSJ* XXX, 1961, pp. 75-77.

Chapter VII. The Sixth General Congregation and Colleges for Externs, 1608

Many provinces requested the Congregations of Procurators in 1603 and in 1606 to do something to settle the harrassing problems about the colleges. The latter Congregation convoked the Sixth General Congregation of 1608. In preparation for it the celebrated ascetical writer, Father Alphonsus Rodriguez, composed a Memorial of Matters[61] which the Congregation ought to consider. He urges anew the old complaints against the colleges: "The Society seems to be failing to proceed according to its Institute. Its end is to travel to various places and to live anywhere where there is hope of greater help to souls; but cities seek the Jesuits almost only to teach their sons. Hence the Society's colleges have become caves and whirlpools swallowing her men."

The Assistant Secretary of the General Congregation, Father Bernardine Castorio, did not leave us an account of its debates about the colleges. But he did leave us a treatise of his own on them which certainly had a great influence on the decrees which the Congregation enacted. His treatment is both historical and practical. In his opinion, any Father living in a college, whether he be a teacher or a spiritual *operarius*, can be considered useful to it in some way. What about the colleges which possess fixed revenues but no Jesuit scholastics as students? This difficulty can be solved if the General Congregation will decree that the *Constitutions* do not make it certain that support of the scholastics is the only reason why the fixed revenues are permitted. The chief reason why these controversies and anxieties were able to arise and endure was a lack of clarity in the *Constitutions*, especially in some passages.

Father Castorio's treatise seemingly had efficacious effects. The Sixth General Congregation enacted its eighteenth decree which settled the problems which had harassed so many Jesuits for forty years, and the following quotation will show.[62]

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[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

[62] *Institutum S.J., Decreta Congregationis Generalis* VI, XVIII.

Decree XVIII

In regard to the colleges, which have been multiplied until now and in which seminaries of our own students are not actually existent, the question was asked whether they could licitly be retained; and what remedy ought to be applied, since it seems to appear from the *Constitutions* and Apostolic Letters that the fixed revenues in the colleges and houses of probation were granted for the seminaries of our own students.

The Congregation examined many passages of the *Constitutions*, the Apostolic Letters, and the Decrees of the First, Second, and Third General Congregations. It brought many matters under discussion and diligently examined them for our days. Then the Congregation decided upon this decree.

No scruple ought to exist, or to have existed, about this entire matter. This is all the truer because the uninterrupted practice, which is an excellent means of interpreting laws, handed down in a continued sequence from the very time of our blessed Founder, until now, can render us free from anxiety.

Nevertheless, because of the privilege granted by Pope Julius II to the Order of Preachers and because of its own privilege, (granted by Julius III in *Exposcit debitum*, 1540), the Society is empowered to issue clarifications of doubtful matters found in its Institute and formula. Therefore, to remove all difficulties, the Congregation enacts this clarification. Not only the colleges which contain such seminaries, but also the others in which the pursuit of learning is carried on and classes have been opened for the benefit of our fellow men, are in accordance with our *Constitutions* and Institute. Furthermore, the professed and formed coadjutors, about whose case there was greater reason to doubt, could be maintained in the colleges without any scruple—for there could be no difficulty about the other members who even as *operarii* are necessary or useful. Moreover this is not a case of the professed Society drawing aid from the fixed revenues of the colleges which was forbidden to the professed houses (*Examen* I, c. 4). However, all care should be taken to perfect the inchoate colleges, in order that some of our scholastics should be maintained either in them or, if it be more profitable to the Society, in some other seminaries through contributions.

That decree can indeed be called a complete victory for the Jesuits who had argued in favor of the colleges chiefly for externs. It again gave a clear juridical standing to the ancient usages which had grown up under the eyes and guidance of Ignatius from 1545 to 1556. He thought that he had incorporated those practices into the *Constitutions*, but un-

fortunately some passages remained obscure and turned out to be the occasion of the misinterpretations and controversies which raged from 1570 to 1608. From 1545 to 1556, also, Ignatius was in close contact with the reigning popes who would surely have remonstrated with him if they thought his practices against their bulls. But Ignatius died before he thought of obtaining a new papal bull allowing the professed and the formed coadjutors to live, either as teacher or priests, in the colleges chiefly for externs and to be supported by their revenues.

It is worthy of note that during the years of the unfortunate tensions and controversies about these matters, the propriety of listing the teaching of externs as one of the most important ministries of the Society's apostolate was seldom if ever called into question.

One concluding observation, however, is perhaps the most important of all. The primitive spirit of the Society consisted of two elements: first, the practices which Ignatius initiated with the constant approval of the contemporary popes and then bequeathed to his sons, and second, the laws, or principles guiding actions, in which he thought he had embodied those practices, but to which in some instances he had given obscure expression. The Jesuits were faithfully carrying out his practices through the years when they were vexed by doubts and controversies about the interpretation of those laws. After 1570 there arose a new and rather romanticized concept of what that primitive spirit had been—a concept which we now know to be historically false. By the very fact of the Society's adherence to the set of traditional practices which Ignatius had bequeathed, it came into conflict with this new interpretation. Hence, what so many of its best and most sincere members from 1570 to 1608 thought to be infidelity to the primitive spirit of the Institute was in reality something totally different: mere non-compliance with this incorrect interpretation of what the primitive spirit was.

Father John J. Geoghan

William B. O'Shaughnessy

During life Father Geoghan had expressed the hope that he would die with his shoes on, active to the end. This grace God granted him on April 3, 1957 in his eighty-third year at Inisfada, Manhasset, New York. He had come down to say Mass and while vesting suffered a severe heart attack. Tranquilly he received the last rites and in a short time was face to face with Christ, his King, in whose army he had served gracefully and well for sixty-four years as a Jesuit and fifty years as a priest.

It was a long life span from September 7, 1893 when a dark haired, comely, athletic, and genial youth arrived at the novitiate in Frederick, Maryland, from Philadelphia. John Geoghan was then in his nineteenth year and had completed his sophomore year at Saint Joseph's College in Philadelphia, when he decided to seek a career with the Jesuits in whose parish he had lived and in whose schools he was educated. John was the oldest of three sons.

By June 1907, when John Geoghan came to ordination after the novitiate and juniorate at Frederick, philosophy at Woodstock, regency at Holy Cross College, theology at Woodstock, the novice of 1893 had matured into solid physical frame, grown silver in hair, fine in feature, virile in character, military and dignified in manner—altogether of impressive appearance which was to be an asset to him to the end. With the exception of a mild illness during his tertianship, Father Geoghan was to have the added blessing of good health until the last few months of his life. Father and his classmates had, in 1898, received minor orders from James Cardinal Gibbons, archbishop of Baltimore; and Cardinal Gibbons for over thirty-five years conferred the major orders at Woodstock. But in 1907 Father Geoghan and his class were ordained at Woodstock College by Archbishop John M. Farley, Archbishop of New York, who later in 1911 was to be created Cardinal. In that ordination class of 1907 was

Father John H. Farley, nephew of Archbishop Farley; so that year Cardinal Gibbons extended the courtesy of ordaining to the Archbishop of New York.

Besides the languages which his course in the Society had led him to master, Father Geoghan had a proficiency in reading and speaking French, a fair knowledge of German, and, in his few years as Spiritual Father at Saint Andrew, he wrestled with an Italian grammar until he could read some of Dante in the original.

There was a musical side to his make-up. He had a resonant baritone voice and read music sufficiently to make him a good brass in choir and glee club and to enable him to sing a High Mass well. He was a perennially cheerful character and easily broke into song. To his vocal ability he added an instrumental versatility. Father played with amateur skill the accordion, the harmonica, the saxophone and the guitar. Any of the other three he might be heard playing on different occasions in different houses but the guitar seemed to have occupied his fancy only during his years in Boston.

Extensive Reading

From his early years he was an extensive reader in the classics, history, biography, spiritual books, modern literature, fiction, poetry and current magazines. He became well informed, developed a fluency and choice of language and a fertility of imagination. Without realizing it he was building up assets for a long speaking career ahead which he neither planned nor foresaw. This reading enriched also his fine sense of humor and gave him a fund of stories which he could dramatize entertainingly even in several dialects when called for. It made him good company in any gathering and spiced his after-dinner speaking at which he was among the best.

One, associated with him for many years, cannot omit a tribute to his sound spiritual character, of a matter of fact type, manifested in long years of regularity in religious routine, in his devout Mass, in his fidelity to the breviary at set periods of the day, in the ideals he lived and preached, in his delight in giving retreats. One did not know him long before he was aware of a strength and virility of soul which could face anything fearlessly when the situation demanded it.

Immediately after theology Father was sent to Linz in Austria for his tertianship. While there he heard one of the national airs whose melody kept ringing through his mind. Its martial quality and its call to loyalty impressed him as a vehicle for a call to supernatural loyalty. He could write off a limerick or a piece of humorous verses without effort and with serious effort could pen a good poem now and again. The national air gave him an inspiration which took final form in his hymn to the Sacred Heart, "Heart of Jesus, may Thy reign, O'er the world its power regain" which was sung throughout the province for years.

At St. Andrew-on-Hudson

Returning from Europe in 1909 Father found himself assigned to the teaching of poetry class at Saint Andrew-on-Hudson; from 1910 to 1912 he taught the rhetoric class. There were only three professors in the juniorate then, Father Francis P. Donnelly, Father Francis Connell and Father Geoghan. Each taught the three subjects of his class: Latin, Greek and English. The young priest-professor of the juniorate is best pictured for us by some of his Jesuit pupils who, through the years, have done well in the Society. One writes of the year in poetry class: "Father Geoghan was a strict teacher; not so inspiring as others but conscientious. He was patient and tolerant of us who were struggling along." Another presents him as the rhetoric teacher: "Father was a reserved man and, although very courteous to us as students, there was never what might be called warmth in the association. At Saint Andrew he seemed to be a fine scholar and gave the class a satisfactory course in the classics. I remember him for his valuable drill in Latin conversation which served us well at Woodstock. But there was no personal attention and encouragement for individual research over and above what the regular schedule prescribed."

It was at Saint Andrew that Father Geoghan made his final profession on February 2, 1911.

In 1912 Boston College and its high school were sending forth their graduates from the modest red brick building on James Street back of the Immaculate Conception Church and residence on Harrison Avenue in the south end of Boston.

Father Geoghan was assigned there that summer as prefect of studies for college and high school. The old red brick building was crowded and plans were being made for some years to separate the college from the high school and move the college to more attractive and ample surroundings. During the presidency of Father Thomas Gasson a site was purchased in Chestnut Hill just over the southern boundary line of the city of Boston. Here in 1913 was opened the large tower building, the first of that group of Gothic buildings which form today one of the most beautiful college campuses in America. The college classes were transferred to the new college and two administrative faculties were formed for college and high school, Father Michael Jessup becoming dean of studies at the college and Father John Geoghan remaining at James Street as prefect of studies for the High School. Both faculties continued to live at the residence on Harrison Avenue under the one rector, Father Thomas Gasson, and later under Father Charles Lyons who succeeded Father Gasson in January, 1914. In 1917 Saint Mary's Hall, the faculty residence, was opened on the Chestunt Hill campus and the College faculty moved out. The rector, Father Lyons, still in residence on Harrison Avenue, continued as head of both institutions with a Father Minister at each place. On July 20, 1919 College and High School were separated into independent units with Father William Devlin as rector of Boston College and Father John Geoghan as superior of the High School. In 1925 the high school would become a rectorship.

Boston College High

The move was beneficial as both institutions expanded to capacity in a few years. In the twenties the high school enrollment reached near 1600, calling into requisition all available space, including the altar boys' room under the church. There were four to six sections to each year with only one or two classes under fifty in number and some reaching over sixty. It was Father Geoghan's blessing to have a fine staff of Jesuits who generously assumed the heavy burden of twenty to twenty-five hours of teaching a week and a program of four or five different subjects. Through their efforts

the school maintained the academic respect of the city. The auditorium, with its large stage and its seating capacity of about twelve hundred was the scene of constant activity during the academic year, with its monthly reading of marks, occasional academies, elocution contests, public debates of the Bapst and McElroy societies with the leading high schools of the city of Boston, plays, always of high standard, under the supervision of that superb dramatic coach, Father James L. McGovern, lectures of current interest, monthly moving pictures for the lay people, and delightful operettas by the Sunday School children each Spring. All these events were well attended by the people and Father Geoghan made it a practice to be present on all occasions. The athletic teams won prestige in the city and Father Geoghan, with a lifelong interest in athletics, rarely missed a home engagement.

The Immaculate Conception Church, one of the few collegiate churches the Society has in this country, was not a parish; rather it was situated in the Cathedral Parish, but people came from different parts of the city to assist at Mass and the various services. As they were an understanding congregation, Father Geoghan would have distinguished preachers for special times such as Lent, Advent, for the Alumni Sodality Retreat and for Holy Week. During his tenure of office Father Geoghan was a regular confessor in the church, preached at Low Mass on Sundays and took his turn once a month in giving the sermon at the High Mass. His dignified presence and his strong voice, which was to endure to the end of his life, gained immediate attention and his thought and language framed themselves into sermons of quality. As moderator of the altar boys for two years and obliged to be present with the boys at the High Mass, I had the opportunity of hearing him often. Through these sermons and addresses given here and there in the city Father Geoghan won respect as a preacher. On the occasion of the death of Pope Benedict XV in January 1922 His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, called in person at the high school residence and requested Father Geoghan to preach the eulogy at the Solemn Requiem Mass for the Pope at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross. The assignment flustered Father somewhat and he went off to the college and hid himself for

a few days to prepare. He did his task well and gave an eloquent eulogy. *The Pilot*, official publication of the Archdiocese of Boston, in reporting the event in its issue of February 4th, 1922 states: "After the Communion of the Mass, a touching and eloquent tribute was paid to the life and works of Pope Benedict XV by Very Rev. John J. Geoghan, S.J., Rector of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Harrison Avenue." The sermon, quoted at length, reads impressively even today.

The Teacher

In 1925, after a six year term as superior, Father Geoghan was transferred to Xavier High School, New York, where he remained a year as Minister. In 1926 he began his long residence of fourteen years at Loyola College in Baltimore where he taught the classics for two years and junior philosophy for twelve years. For the young men in college he was the right kind of professor: an interesting lecturer, clear in thought, facile and apt in expression, firm in discipline, insistent on study, yet courteous and humorous, priestly. The students admired him and dubbed him the General because of his distinguished appearance, his refined manner and his military carriage. On externs he left the impression of the scholarly priest and gentleman. The following incident is typical of a number. On two occasions Father Geoghan and the writer attended in a private home a rather formal dinner at which a professor of Johns Hopkins University and his wife were present. The professor was famous in his field and had come from Europe to lecture in the United States. In Europe his family were devout Catholics. He had been educated by the Jesuits and he came here and lived as a good Catholic. However, as he went up in American university circles he gave up the practice of his faith and withdrew his wife and children from it. On both dinner occasions the professor made it a point to talk a good deal with Father Geoghan; and on the occasion of the second dinner as the professor and I sat aside together in the living room toward the close of the evening the professor said to me: "If priests like Father Geoghan moved more among the professors of secular colleges, these professors would have a higher aca-

demic regard for Catholic colleges." There was a sequel to the event and perhaps Father Geoghan had an initial influence in it; within the year the professor and his family were back in the practice of their faith.

During these years of teaching Father spent the summer vacation giving several retreats. The retreats of these years were to Sisterhoods generally and to laymen and women on week-end retreats. In these he moved easily and effectively. In the thirties, while he was at Loyola College, Father was assigned to his first priests retreat; it was to be to the Springfield, Massachusetts, diocese in June. The notice came in the early Spring and he became a fidgety, busy individual for weeks, reading, outlining, writing. He did not mind retreats to nuns or lay people but he did not consider himself of the calibre for priests' retreats. There was no self-satisfaction or complacency in his make-up. Though he was a capable man, he considered himself just an ordinary individual who tried to do his task well. The nice tributes of the Springfield priests made him feel relieved and he approached, with more confidence, some time later a retreat to a community of Benedictine priests in Washington, D. C. In the community was the famous psychologist and psychiatrist of Catholic University, Dom Moore, who is now a Carthusian. Father Moore later became the superior of the Benedictine community and, as one of his subjects sent to Saint Andrew to make his ordination retreat told the writer, was eager to have his fellow Benedictines know well the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius. He considered them invaluable for life. From this point on priests' retreats were a regular part of Father Geoghan's life.

As in Boston so in Baltimore Father Geoghan made a number of friends; some he kept in contact for life. In fact in later years he would try to get a retreat in Baltimore and another in Boston each year in order to see these old friends.

Retreat Master

The year 1940 was to close his teaching and academic career; between classroom and office his educational work stretched over thirty-three years; from now on his efforts were to be in the ascetical realm in giving retreats. In this

work he was to spend the longest consecutive period of years and for it he was most fitted. It was to be the great work of his life. In 1940 he took up residence at Inisfada and would spend most of the time ahead there. For three years, 1948-51, he would be transferred to Saint Andrew-on-Hudson as Spiritual Father of the house but even then he would keep at his work of retreats. He returned to Inisfada and the retreat band in 1951. As is the case with retreat directors his range of work was wide and diversified, with retreats of from five to eight days; with conferences to religious, tridua, novenas, days of recollection. The retreatants will be children, laymen and women, Sisters, seminarians, priests secular and religious, including Jesuits. His journeys carried him from New York to California and from Washington, D. C., to Nova Scotia. All through Father Geoghan's life his eyes remained good (some cataract trouble in his seventies was cleared up by an operation) his voice strong and his memory retentive. Whether he gave a conference, a sermon, a day of recollection or an eight day retreat he, to the end, used no notes while talking. With regard to his retreats to Sisters the same tribute was usually heard by the writer who followed him in various places: an edifying priest, a genial character, a fine speaker, a wise counsellor. The quality of his retreats to priests may be gauged by the remark made to the writer by the well-known Monsignor Patrick Lavelle, rector of Saint Patrick's Cathedral in New York for fifty-three years, after Father Geoghan gave the retreats to the priests of the New York Archiocese: "We have just had a distinctive retreat from Father John Geoghan. Where have they hidden him for the last twenty years?"

Unto the End

Father Geoghan celebrated his golden jubilee as a Jesuit in 1943 and his diamond jubilee in 1953. He remarked in his speech at the golden jubilee dinner: "I always connected golden jubilees with a crutch and a wheel chair but, thank God, I do not feel the need of either tonight." The same was true at his diamond jubilee in 1953 and even into late 1956. Had he lived a few months longer he would have celebrated his golden jubilee as a priest. The first indication of his

sturdy heart weakening came in December 1956, just three months before he died, when he was giving a year end triduum to a community of Sisters of Mercy in Baltimore. He had a heart attack there. It passed and he got back to New York safely. After several weeks in Saint Vincent's Hospital, he returned to Inisfada in February apparently in fair condition. But as the weeks went by he was failing more than he realized. He had retreat engagements ahead and, to his nephew who visited him two days before he died, he expressed the hope and the eagerness of being able to meet them. April 3, 1957 stilled that hope and eagerness. The statement of a contemporary member of the mission and retreat band speaking of Father's death and of his cheerfulness and work carried on to his advanced years, seems, on surveying Father Geoghan's career, a fitting epitaph to his life, "He was a great priest and an inspiration."

Books of Interest to Ours

A MODERN PHENOMENON

Secular Institutes: Consecration to God and Life in the World. *By Joseph-Marie Perrin, O.P.* New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1961. Pp. xvii-122. $3.50.

This book was first published as part of a series in 1957 under the title *Consécration à Dieu et présence au monde.* It is, as the author states, "an attentive meditation on the words of the Church," namely the documents of Pius XII on Secular Institutes, the Apostolic Constitution *Provida Mater Ecclesia* and the Motu Proprio *Primo Feliciter*, both of which are included in an appendix. Its point of view is primarily theological and ascetical, and does not treat the canonical aspects of Secular Institutes.

Perrin's meditation succeeds in sketching clearly the essence of this new body within the Mystical Body which at once shares with the religious vocation the life of the vows while differing from it in not demanding a common life. Thus an essential constituent of the Secular Institute is presence in the world. It is insisted that "they are not a branch of religious life, but a new creation which though it is the result of an evolution remains new nonetheless and providential for our times."

After Part One treats of preliminary questions concerning the possibility of a secular *state* of seeking perfection and the need for the Church to define the essentials of such a state, Parts Two and Three dissect these essentials. They come down to: the practice of the evangelical counsels under vow or oath in the world or secular state according to the particular rules or constitutions of the chosen institute, with the apostolic end of rendering one's own daily vocation in the world serviceable to the mission of the Church.

The book is not meant to be a theoretical commentary, but serves as a good introduction and answers clearly the question: What is a Secular Institute?

GEORGE F. DRISCOLL, S.J.

POPULAR BIBLICAL ESSAYS

The God of Israel, The God of Christians: The Great Themes of Scripture. *Edited by J. Giblet.* Translated by Kathryn Sullivan, R.S.C.J. New York: Desclee Company, 1961. Pp. x + 261. $3.95.

M. Giblet has assembled a collection of essays on themes of biblical theology written by some of the most distinguished scholars of French-speaking countries. The essays are grouped under five topics: "God's Plan," written entirely by Giblet, comprises "God's Choices," "God's Covenant with Man," and "God's People." Under "God's Revelation" appear "Holy is the Lord" (Lefèvre), "God in our Midst" (Leboisset), and "God our Father" (Boismard). "God's Demands" contains "Blessed are the Poor" (Gelin), "To Believe in God" (Léon-Dufour), and "To Serve God" (Lefèvre). "God's Fidelity" treats "Men's Sin" (Spicq), "Conversion" (Pierron) and "Retribution" (Sister Jeanne d'Arc). "God's Victory" includes "The Messias of God'" (Gelin), "The Kingdom of God" (Descamps) and "The Spirit of God" (Guillet).

This is an imposing list of contributors; but the authors have not written here in the style and form which have made their names so well known in biblical studies. These are explicitly popular essays in biblical theology, homiletic in tone; they read like conferences or lectures on the themes; they often give leads which could be used by the preacher; and they could well be used as a book of meditations. Each theme is pursued through Old and New Testament, often through the separate books or classes of books. Quotations from the Bible are abundant.

The extent of the text covered by each article occasionally leaves the reader—who here is a student of the professional writings of these men—with the impression of no great depth. This criticism is made with all due reservations; the Bible is not easy to treat on a popular level, and one who attempts profundity may obtain nothing but obscurity. Some of the contributors have succeeded better than others, which is normal in a work of collaboration. But lapses are only occasional.

What one has here is a series of quiet and informal conversations with men, whose knowledge and love of the Bible is beyond doubt, on the meaning of the Bible in Christian life. Biblical scholars have often

been taxed with neglect of this aspect of their work, so warmly recommended by the late Pius XII. These men have fulfilled the duty with competence and often with distinction in this book. Modern biblical studies are not intended to make the Bible less urgent and meaningful for Christian life. Essays like this should convince any one that the fruits of modern biblical study for richer Christian living are all the defense that biblical studies need. We hope that French scholars, whose work in scholarship has been of primary importance, will continue to produce such books addressed to a wider public.

JOHN L. MCKENZIE, S.J.

CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS OF SPIRITUALITY

Introduction to Spirituality. *By Louis Bouyer, Cong. Orat.* Translated by Mary Perkins Ryan. New York: Desclee, 1961. Pp. 321. $5.75.

Bouyer presents his book as a manual for practical use which is to serve as an initiation into the fundamental problems of every spiritual life and into the perennial principles governing the solution to these problems. First, he examines the elements which together constitute a spiritual life. These elements are set firmly in the framework of the liturgy. Here Bouyer is at his best, as he handles such problems as the use of the Bible in the liturgy, in meditation and spiritual reading. The chapter on prayer is especially good on the relationship between the divine office and personal prayer. The treatment of the sacramental life is somewhat disappointing in its brevity, but the author has treated this area at great length in his other works.

After discussing prayer as the contemplation of the Christian Mystery, and the sacramental life as its presence in us, Bouyer moves on to the question of Christian asceticism as the systematic adaptation of our whole life to this Mystery. He begins with a survey of the historical development of the motivation of Christian asceticism. This is followed by a philosophical-historical study of man, ordered to the resolution of the apparent antinomy between Christian asceticism and humanism, between the cross of Christ and man's self-development.

In the second part of the book, the author treats the different Christian vocations which modify, not the components, but the mutual adjustment of the elements which constitute every spiritual life. He discusses lay spirituality, monastic spirituality, and the apostolic vocations, both priestly and religious. Bouyer vigorously denies the distinction between a "creative" and a "redemptive" spirituality as the basis for distinguishing the active and the contemplative life. He insists upon the oneness of the creative and redemptive aspects of all genuine Christian spirituality in whatever state it is to be realized. In this context he raises some disturbing questions about a too facile development and exposition of a spirituality of action. His esteem for monastic spirituality is especially evident. He makes some good points on priestly spirituality and on the difference between priestly and religious celibacy.

The third and final part of the book examines the dynamism of the spiritual life, showing how it comes to integrate in the living of them the static elements already considered. Here Bouyer discusses the traditional Three Ways of purification, illumination and union as the development and rhythms of the spiritual life. The last chapter treats of the mystical life. The book concludes with a note on the communion of saints and the great classics of the spiritual life which are available in English.

Bouyer limits himself in this work to problems of contemporary interest in the spiritual life of the present generation. Many problems which would necessarily have to be treated in a systematic treatise of spiritual theology are deliberately passed over. The author's method is to trace the historical development of various practices, to understand how and why they came about, and then to discover their exact import. This done, the attempt is to disengage the values in the practices and examine their absolute value, if any, and their current relevance. Bouyer's honesty and forthrightness are refreshing. He asks the questions that ought to be asked and attempts answers that are unequivocal and stimulating. Though his treatment of individual questions is necessarily brief, Bouyer's insights, controlled by the lessons of history, provoke respectful reflection. His style is as pungent as ever and its appeal is carried over in the translation.

Felix F. Cardegna, S.J.

VERITAS IN CARITATE

Catholic Theology in Dialogue. *By Gustave Weigel, S.J.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961. Pp. 126. $2.75.

The slim appearance of Father Weigel's book should not deceive the prospective reader. Its skillful pages take him to the center of Catholic life and show the Church's hierarchy and scholars at work as today's major theological questions are brought into sharp relief. Ecclesiology, sacramentalism, ecumenism, tradition and scripture, church and state, each appears in turn presenting progress and problems significant for Catholic and non-Catholic alike. Indeed, chapters I-III represent the 1960 Taylor Lectures at Yale Divinity School (the first ever given by a Roman Catholic), while the other four chapters reproduce occasional lectures elsewhere. These circumstances give the text an admirable clarity and directness. Exposition of Catholic dogma is unequivocal, without apology, and often in pointed contrast with non-Catholic positions. Differences are faced with honesty and there is no attempt to conceal chasms that separate Christians of different confessions.

Catholics can learn much from its pages. In particular, the chapters on sacramental symbolism and church-state relations have a depth and scope disproportionate to the brief space they occupy. The researches of Father Maurice de la Taille, S.J., and Dom Odo Casel, O.S.B., introduce the presentation of sacramental liturgy as the prime and necessary meeting point for the transcendent God and his creatures in space and time. Thus Christian man appears inexorably involved in symbol,

analogy, and sacrament. Christ can be understood only in his symbolic actions of Supper and Cross, while the Church in turn is Christ symbolically present and saving. In a word, symbolism is the key to good theology, for it alone allows the theologian to preserve both the transcendence of God and the participation of all things in God's being.

If a clearcut solution to the persistent problem of church-state relations is not yet at hand, it is because the proper questions have not yet been asked. Father Weigel remarks that to ask the Church for a definitive solution to this (or any such) problem before theologians have constructed the question with accuracy is at best naive and can only occasion badly constructed answers and subsequent confusion. Nonetheless the theological principles and conclusions explained here are an important step in the right direction and provide for further development.

Our brief review does scant justice to the book's genial mode of presentation and rewarding insights. It is recommended to all, especially to college students and educated lay Catholics. Unfortunately there is neither an index nor a bibliography to aid the interested reader, for whom the book ends all too soon. FREDERICK A. HOMANN, S.J.

SCHOLARLY ECUMENICAL DIALOGUES

Christianity Divided. *Edited by Daniel Callahan, Heiko Oberman, Daniel O'Hanlon, S.J.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. xiv-335. $6.00.

This book, a collection of essays by prominent Protestant and Catholic theologians on critical problems in contemporary theology, achieves in an admirable way the end proposed by the editors in their introduction: to note areas of agreement and disagreement, differences of interest and emphasis between the Catholic and the Reformed Churches. The evidence provided in these essays demonstrates that if the aims of the ecumenical movement are still blocked by substantial differences, these aims are not so utopian as many imagine. There are areas of agreement now, achieved not through the surrender of precious teachings, but through communication of ideas and the patient, scholarly re-examination of theological positions.

Each of the thirteen essays is accompanied by a brief introduction, explaining the context of the essay in modern theological investigation, and by a list of suggested readings for those interested in pursuing the particular point. Catholic is paired with Protestant, each presenting his views in one of the following areas: Scripture and Tradition (Cullmann, Geiselmann), the Bible and its relation to recent scholarship (Fuchs, van Ruler, Stanley), the Church (Barth, Weigel), the Sacraments (Thurian, Oberman, Schillebeeckx), and Justification (Torrance, Küng).

Not only does the book gather together in a single volume articles previously scattered through various books and journals, but it also provides very readable translations of six articles that had been available only in French, German or Dutch.

The Catholic will find interesting the prominence given to preaching in several of the Protestant essays; perhaps some of these ideas may be incorporated into our own theology of preaching and examined in their application to the Church's magisterium.

Additional points of interest: Schillebeeckx' answer to the perennial problem of the identity of Calvary and the Mass; Küng's detailed examination of the meaning of sanctification and justification in the New Testament; Geiselmann's effort to establish that all Revelation is contained in the Scriptures, properly understood; Cullmann's conviction that the fixing of the Canon by the early Church precluded any further Apostolic Tradition.

A single criticism that might be voiced would be this: Since only two of the articles were composed with members of the other sect specifically in mind, the effort to understand is made somewhat more difficult for the novice in the ecumenical movement.

These articles do not make for casual reading. They demand a close and penetrating study, but one amply rewarded with increased awareness of current theological trends and with new hope for Christian unity.

EUGENE J. BARBER, S.J.

FOR PREACHERS ESPECIALLY

The Sunday Epistles. *By Richard T. A. Murphy, O.P.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1961. Pp. 274. $5.00.

The busy preacher today can find himself in somewhat of a dilemma. On the one hand, he is aware of the revival of interest in Liturgy and Scripture and of his need for sermons to match the enthusiasm of his more knowledgeable congregation. On the other hand, if it has been some years since his seminary training, he may feel inadequate to the task; the recent advances in Scripture studies may have left him uncertain of the accuracy of his traditional approach and hesitant to use it.

Father Murphy's new book solves the dilemma completely. It provides material well suited to the current revival from a somewhat neglected part of the Sunday liturgy. It presents this material in a language that is clear, accurate and easily readable. It is a work of careful scholarship. In brief, *The Sunday Epistles* is an excellent book. It is the much-awaited companion volume to the author's *The Sunday Gospels* which was published last year. Following the same format as its predecessor, each Sunday's selection, averaging five pages, is divided into Introduction, Explanation of the Epistle, and Hints for Homiletics. The Introduction places the Epistle selection in its historical context or explains the problem which Paul is trying to solve. The Explanation, the major part of the section, gives a clear, accurate exegesis of the selection, verse by verse, dissolving the obscurities and bringing out the richness of Pauline thought. The abundance of Scriptural cross references in this section is especially helpful. The Hints for Homiletics suggests several ways that the Epistle message can be further developed in a sermon. The first of these will suggest a liturgical development

when the Sunday itself is of liturgical importance.

But *The Sunday Epistles* is not a book for preachers only. It is not a book of prepared sermons, but primarily a commentary on the Epistles. Its only limitation as a commentary is that imposed on it by its selected framework. Many of the richest sections of the Epistles are not found in the Sunday liturgy and hence are not in the book. Even with this limitation it could still serve as a suitable text for a parish study club. As a source of understanding and appreciation of the Sunday Epistle selections, it could be used for meditation, for spiritual reading or for a fuller participation in the Sunday liturgy.

William J. Keyes, S.J.

SEGREGATION FROM SIX ANGLES

A Catholic Case against Segregation. *Edited by Joseph E. O'Neill, S.J.* New York: Macmillan, 1961. Pp. 155. $3.95.

This is an exceptionally well-written and stimulating set of essays by six Jesuits and a woman professor of psychology who present both natural and supernatural considerations against compulsory segregation solely on the basis of race. To the four articles by Father Robert W. Gleason, Father Arthur North and Father John W. Donohue and Doctor Anne Anastasi which originally appeared in the Autumn, 1960, issue of *Thought* magazine have been added three written especially for this book by Father Robert F. Drinan, Father Joseph H. Fichter and Father John LaFarge.

Father Gleason points out the theological basis for calling compulsory segregation unchristian, namely, its practical denial that human dignity is the same in all men. Compulsory segregation violates the law of human solidarity and sins against charity and justice.

Father North traces the rise of the "separate but equal" Plessy doctrine in 1896 to its demise on the day of the Brown decision, May 17, 1954. The preparations for and the thinking behind the Brown decision that "Separate facilities are inherently unequal" are outlined, and the reasons for objecting to it are clearly proposed.

Father Drinan examines the role and degree of effectiveness of legislation in promoting desegregation in the North in the areas of housing, education, and employment. He believes that where an anti-bias law has some support in the community it can inhibit the effects of and even eliminate to some extent the racial instincts of its subjects.

Father Donohue in discussing biracial public education in the South points out that, as a matter of history, the promoters of Negro public education in the past ninety years have been, in chronological order, Northern Protestant missionaries, the Federal Government, the Southern Negro community, Northern philanthropists, and the Southern state and local governments themselves. The Southern defense of their biracial educational system on legal, factual and ideological grounds is then presented and evaluated.

Doctor Anastasi points out that group prejudices are not inborn but learned by the individual as he grows up in a community which

already displays such attitudes, and that a mere increase of contact with out-groups does not always decrease prejudice. The harmful effects of segregation upon the individual's concept of self and upon his personality development are factually shown.

Father Fichter points out six instances where predictions made with regard to consequences involved in a change from a segregated to an integrated society in the Southeast were proved false. To explain this disparity between predictions and actual performance Father Fichter suggests that in the Southeast the norms governing the relations between the races contain two elements of instability: first, they differ sharply from those of the American culture in general; secondly, they are now constantly under challenge to change.

In the last essay Father LaFarge points out that the earlier articles have conclusively destroyed the image of the current American Negro as a congenitally inferior person. He reminds the reader that when in real life one meets a personification of the pejorative stereotype of the Negro, he ought not to think of genetics as the explanation but of the many retarding factors of poor health, home, education, etc., which can produce degradation in any human beings.

These essays force the reader to form a new image of the Negro, and the Negro to form a new self-concept. The Negro, especially the young Negro, must not feel that he or she is just a problem, but rather that "the white majority is persuaded, intelligently convinced that the presence in our midst of this minority group is, in its own mysterious way, a precious gift of the Creator to our nation."

JOSEPH P. SANDERS, S.J.

THE SOCIAL ORDER

Catholic Social Principles. *By Cletus Dirksen, C.PP.S.* St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1961. Pp. xix-247. $4.00.

The recent publication of *Mater et Magistra* and the discussions that ensued within Catholic circles are proof enough of the present interest in and concern for Catholic social principles. Father Dirksen's book is an attempt to bring together in summary fashion some of the more basic principles which must be included in any Catholic's study of the social order.

Beginning with a study of man, his nature, dignity, and fundamental rights, the author considers the society in which man lives. The concepts of law, the social virtues of charity and justice, and the very nature of society are investigated. Within this framework the author examines the notions of the common good and of authority together with the functions of the state as part of society. Corresponding to two diverse situations which are significant in modern times, the author treats of internationalism and the role of lesser social units within society. Socio-economic problems of wage-justice, the right to private property, and co-determination are investigated in the final chapters of the book.

In stressing moral aspects of social problems the author often has

recourse to papal documents, doctrines of the Church Fathers, and even a few Scriptural citations. The use of some of these could be questioned, as when it is claimed that language differences are due to a confusion that was "deliberately imposed upon mankind by God in view of the pride occasioned by the tower of Babel," or that it was Augustine's *City of God* "which dealt the *coup de grâce* to the pagan civilization of the Roman Empire."

It is unfortunate that the book was published too soon after *Mater et Magistra* to include the encyclical in its consideration. Catholics may also wish that the book were more up-to-date in dealing with such present problems as civil rights, welfare measures, unionism, land reform, etc. Terminology could also have been improved, substituting modern terms for heavy scholastic formulae, and defining more carefully such chameleon words as "liberal." And in the general modernizing of the book, a more up-to-date bibliography including latest editions of books listed as well as some of the recent periodical literature would have been helpful.

THOMAS H. O'GORMAN, S.J.

CONTEMPLATION

Prayer. *By Hans Urs von Balthasar.* Translated by A. V. Littledale. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 246. $5.00.

When this book appeared in Germany five years ago, reviewers pointed out that it is much more speculative than practical, much more from the head than from the heart. While willing to admit that a man thoroughly acquainted with prayer might, if he could find time to study the text, profit by some of the author's insights, they warned that beginners would be discouraged if not positively misled by the book. It makes difficult reading.

BEST STUDY

The Ecumenical Council, the Church and Christendom. *By Lorenz Jaeger, Archbishop of Paderborn.* Translated by A. V. Littledale. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1961. Pp. xvii + 194. $3.95.

The author, a member of the Preparatory Commission of the Second Vatican Council and well known for his interest in the promotion of Christian unity, published this important study in 1960. It begins with a rapid historical survey of the ecumenical councils of the past. The author finds some unity in them but also points out the considerable differences which he traces 1) to the fact that councils existed before there was any ecclesiological doctrine on their nature and functions; 2) to the perennial efforts of the Church, catholic as well as one, to adapt to changing circumstances; and 3) to the fact that, however normal, useful, and even morally necessary councils have appeared to be, they are never a strictly necessary organ of Church government. He goes on to point out, nonetheless, that when united in council, the bishops represent the magisterium, have a right to full and free discussion of doctrines and decrees, as well as of difficulties and objections. After noting that the Holy Father in announcing the coming

council confined himself to generalities in giving its purpose, the author looks forward to a discussion of the relations of Church and state, made necessary by the emergence of a new type of state. He also sees the Church taking stock of its position, face to face with a world which seems more divided than ever ideologically despite speed of communications and economic interdependence. He also has some interesting pages on what the laity may expect from the council. In his discussion of the spiritual condition of Christendom on the eve of the council, Archbishop Jaeger refers to the longing for unity which has found expression in many places.

This book presents the best general study in English on the coming council.

EDWARD A. RYAN, S.J.

THE LITURGICAL YEAR

The Year Made Holy. *By Msgr. Matthias Premm.* Translated by Colman J. O'Donovan. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1961. Pp. viii-180. $3.50.

In the tradition of the work of Parsch, Lohr and others, Msgr. Premm's book aims at giving the Sundays and major feasts of the liturgical year more meaning in the lives of Catholics. The Mass of each day is explained in terms of the liturgical season in which it occurs. This is quite successful with regards those parts of the Mass which are changeable. The remaining parts of the Mass (Prayers at the Foot of the Altar, Gloria, etc.) Premm claims, take on a particular complexion as the season or feast varies. This seems to lead to such a profusion of complexions for these unchangeable parts that they take on Protean stature. However, the individual analyses are on the whole persuasive. The symbolisms are seldom forced; but see the interpretation (p. 68) of the *Levate* in terms of the resurrection. Perhaps, too, a longer essay on what the liturgical year is, and a few remarks on the nature of Sacred Time, would serve as a better introduction to the book.

The book should be of general value for sermon material, as well as for anyone who uses the missal at Mass and who wishes to use it with greater understanding.

GEORGE C. MCCAULEY, S.J.

THE MISSIONARY CHURCH

Missions in the World Today. *By René-Pierre Millot.* Translated by J. Holland Smith. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961. Pp. 140. $3.50.

The one hundredth volume of *The Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism* could not have been devoted to a more Twentieth Century topic, the missionary activity of the Church today. Of special interest to today's missionaries is the author's reflection on papal documents of this century from the *Maximum Illud* of Benedict XV to the *Princeps Pastorum* of John XXIII, each document summarized in the light of its historical context.

At the outset the author points out what he considers to be a mission country: "The countries studied in this book will be those governed

by Propaganda." According to this definition Australia is a mission country whereas Alaska, Goa, Algeria, and the Philippines are not. From this notion of a mission country the various mission fields are briefly described and are statistically considered with some attempt made at highlighting particular problems besetting particular missions. The final pages of the book are given to a consideration of the very pressing problems of nationalistic movements in Africa and Asia, and of the Silent Church in Communist dominated territories.

Though the purpose of giving "within the framework of this series, a glimpse of modern missions" is a noble one, it is questionable whether or not the present volume is satisfactory. Before the proposed 150 volumes of *The Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism* have been completed this hundredth volume will be outdated, a tribute to the vitality of the missions. Statistics gathered in 1953 cannot represent today's mission forces. It is hard to accept 829 as the number of American missionary priests when more recent figures indicate 1300 American priests working in Propaganda missions. And would not the more common notion of a mission country serve the admitted purpose of the book better than the limited one used?

Ours may be disappointed with the treatment given our Jesuit missions. Passing references are made to Jesuit missions, but appreciation of the work being done by Jesuits in India, Burma, Japan, and non-Propaganda countries is at most merely parenthetical, a complaint that can most likely be made by other missionary congregations too.

THOMAS H. O'GORMAN, S.J.

RELIGION AND THE SCIENTIST

Christianity and Science. *By Jean Abelé, S.J.* Translated by R. F. Trevett. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961. Pp. 140. $3.50.

The French title of this book, *Le Christianisme se désintéresse-t-il de la Science?* is perhaps more appropriate than the generic English title. The latter frequently connotes a treatment of the traditional conflicts between science and religion, whereas Father Abelé restricts his discussion to their mutual relevance, a more basic and contemporary issue. Does Christianity mutilate the authentic human values of science? Conversely, can science fit into a genuinely Christian world-view?

The opposing Catholic answers to both questions are cited in the introductory chapter. The author agrees with the more optimistic position expressed variously by Pius XII, de Montcheuil, de Chardin, and others.

In Part I Father Abelé relates science to fundamental Christian truths. Christ in his Incarnation reconciled the temporal and eternal elements of his Kingdom, and by his example showed that earthly concerns could be genuinely Christian. St. Paul extends the rule of the Kingdom of Christ to the whole cosmos which was created through and for Him. Everything in the universe is of a piece and is to be recapitulated in Christ. This is science's claim to nobility: matter is humanized, then Christianized.

In the least satisfactory section of the book, Part II, Father Abelé has cited the science of mechanics as an historical example of how science and Christianity have collaborated. His contention of a specifically Christian impulse in developing the science of analytical mechanics from the science of machines is certainly debatable. The author relates how the pioneers in mechanics were prone to confuse their scientific arguments with religious and philosophical ones, to the detriment of all three. This serves as a warning for one trying to relate his science with his religious faith, but one wonders whether so much space is well spent on an already well-known failure at synthesis.

Present-day problems of the scientist trying to achieve that synthesis are treated in Part III. Father Abelé rightly stresses that the scientific quality of one's work is neither helped nor hindered by one's attitude toward religion, and that the real problem regarding science and Christianity lies within the person himself trying to harmonize the two. While the habits of thought engendered by scientific method can create problems of faith, reflection often reveals science and religion are not as disparate as one might suspect. Above all, the Christian must realize that there will always be some tension between his science and his faith. Due to original sin, the recapitulation of all things in Christ can be attempted only under the shadow of the Cross.

Father Abelé does not write with the sweeping force of de Chardin nor does he convey the sense of personal involvement found in Coulson's *Science and Christian Belief* or Pollard's *Physicist and Christian.* Thus he may not convince as many non-scientists of the interest Christianity has in science, nor as many scientists of the validity of his solution to their problems. However, he has much to say to both.

CHARLES L. CURRIE, S.J.

A FRESH APPROACH

Man and Metaphysics. *By Regis Jolivet.* Translated by B. M. G. Reardon. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961. Pp. 144. $3.50.

His thirty years as dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at l'Université Catholique de Lyon eminently qualifies Msgr. Jolivet to add the present volume to the some two dozen works he has already authored. Though the present book must necessarily conform to the demands of an encyclopedic series, the presentation remains of general interest without sacrificing the solid core requirements of specialized scholarship. To achieve this Jolivet has limited his intent to an extended essay rather than develop a systematized and perforce oversimplified thesis-style textbook. His concern is not so much the conclusions of metaphysics as the nature and scope of the inquiry.

Man has always looked beyond the empirical and relative to the absolute; that is a fact. And although the genuineness of metaphysics as a mode of knowledge has been challenged, yet at least the illusion is real; and as a phenomenon it can be scientifically established and correctly described. The first half of Jolivet's book is such an analysis and definition of the metaphysical experience as a persistent

phenomenon in the history of the human race. From this analysis flows the content of metaphysics as a science discussed in the second half and embracing the entire field of the knowable and affirmable that remains outside the domain of the sciences.

The viewpoint of the whole is the *philosophia perennis*. But as ground for his analysis, Jolivet builds largely on modern authors; the book is indeed a commentary on contemporary philosophical thought, showing wide familiarity and sympathetic insight. Such an approach justifies the validity of the metaphysical quest in so far as the experience justifies itself; and man's concern for the absolute does emerge from Jolivet's fascinating pen as a vital one. The book will challenge the general reader, and students of philosophy should find its fresh approach stimulating. A glossary and select bibliography have been added, but there is no index.

PETER J. ROSLOVICH, S.J.

A PIONEER EFFORT

An Old Testament Study Guide. *By the Members of the Boston College Theology Department.* Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts: Boston College Press, 1961. Pp. 209. $2.50.

Boston College, true to its growing reputation for intellectual leadership, has produced a pioneer effort in bringing the results of recent Catholic Old Testament studies to the college level. The *Study Guide* contains: articles and documents to assure a sound orientation in biblical studies, an outline of the entire Old Testament in the form of questions on each of the individual books, and finally ten appendices containing various pertinent information.

The first five chapters of the book contain articles by R. A. F. Mackenzie, S.J., Archbishop Goodier, Donal O'Connor, and James Brennan. Their aim is to give the student historical, literary and religious perspective in his Old Testament reading. Chapters six and seven consist in the complete text of *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, the response of the Biblical Commission to Cardinal Suhard, and the passage on polygenism from *Humani Generis*.

Part II of the book, the study questions, is divided into twenty-five "sets." Each set begins with dates pertinent to the section of Scripture under consideration, and then gives page references to such books as the *Catholic Commentary*, and Anderson's *Understanding the Old Testament* which treat the matter at hand. Lastly there is an outline, in question form, of the subject of the set.

Ten appendices make up the third part of the book. These contain important collateral matter such as maps, a list of variant spellings of the Old Testament books, a guide to pronunciation, a glossary, selections from Near Eastern literature, etc.

An Old Testament Study Guide will be a great convenience for the student. The choice of matter included has been judicious and the themes emphasized in the questions are well selected. Its value could be increased by the inclusion of a treatment of Old Testament texts and translations and a fuller pronunciation guide. As it stands, however, the

pronunciation guide does not give the variants of biblical names which the student is likely to come upon in his reading. One oversight which the editors will certainly correct in future editions is the implication, in a comparative list of Old Testament books, that the Confraternity Old Testament retains the Douay nomenclature.

VINCENT E. A. BUTLER, S.J.

NEWMAN AND THE LAITY

On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine. *By John Henry Newman.* Edited with an introduction by John Coulson. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 118. $3.00.

This short essay of Cardinal Newman appeared originally as an article in the *Rambler* of July, 1859, the last issue of that periodical published under Newman's editorship. It is no accident that it has never been reprinted in England since that time, for the original publication caused a storm of controversy in England and in Rome because of certain statements that allegedly exaggerated the role of the laity in the Church. Today, however, the growing concern among theologians to develop a theology of the layman that would delineate more clearly his proper role in the Church makes this new edition particularly timely.

The editor prefaces Newman's essay with a lengthy introduction describing the events which provoked Newman to write the article, and evaluating its theological significance. Much of this background information is culled from hitherto unpublished sources and constitutes in itself a valuable contribution to Newman scholarship. The essay itself presents in three stages Newman's defense of his earlier and much-criticized statement: "In the preparation of a dogmatic definition, the faithful are consulted, as lately in the instance of the Immaculate Conception."

In the first section Newman replies directly to the critics who objected to his use of the word "consult" in such a context by specifying the precise sense in which he used the word. This clarification made, the second section takes up the more fundamental question: whether it is correct to say, as Newman had said, that the faithful have a right to be consulted in dogmatic matters. The answer is an emphatic yes, "because the body of the faithful is one of the witnesses to the fact of the tradition of revealed doctrine, and because their consensus through Christendom is the voice of the infallible Church." Newman explains that the infallibility of the Church is not *in* the consensus of the faithful, but the consensus is an *indicium* to us of the judgment of the Church which is infallible. He sets forth the cardinal theological principle which he feels to be at issue: "Though the laity be but the reflection or echo of the clergy in matters of faith, yet there is something in the *pastorum et fidelium conspiratio* which is not in the pastors alone." In support of this position, the third section presents historical evidence to show that during the Arian controversy the Nicene dogma was maintained for the greater part of the fourth century not by the

unswerving firmness of the Holy See, Councils or Bishops, but by the *consensus fidelium.*

Newman ends with a plea for a laity that is well educated in the Faith as the only way to avoid indifference and superstition. The essay as a whole shows the importance of Newman's thought for the theology of the laity so vitally needed today, and provides another instance of his genius anticipating by a century the direction that Catholic thought was eventually to take. WILLIAM V. DYCH, S.J.

THE CHARTER OF CHRISTENDOM

Charter of Christendom: The Significance of "The City of God." *By John O'Meara.* New York: Macmillan, 1961. Pp. 120. $2.50.

This small volume contains the third annual "St. Augustine Lecture" sponsored by Villanova University in spring, 1961. Professor O'Meara presents in two parts the background to *The City of God* (I) and an analysis of the basic argument (II). Part I treats of the historical setting at the time of the composition of this, the greatest of Augustine's works. Then follows a sketch of some anticipations of the theme of the Two Cities as found in other works of Augustine. Finally there is Augustine's own description of the work as found in the *Retractationes.*

All of Part I is really introductory. Its chief merit lies in calling attention to the adumbrations of the Two Cities as found in the *Confessions. The City of God* is an application of the personal experience of the *Confessions* to the history of mankind: the two loves which battled for the soul of Augustine himself are the two loves which have built the Two Cities. This link should be kept in mind. It shows us that the central drama of *The City of God* is salvation, not some theory of Church and State or the riches of a baptized Platonism. Such things are, as M. H. I. Marrou remarked, mere caricatures of the main theme.

Part II is Professor O'Meara's main concern. He attempts to prove that *The City of God* is a synthesis of the Bible, Greek philosophy and Rome. Augustine's basic inspiration is not Plato's *Republic* or Cicero's notion of *Res Publica.* This "charter" is not a "philosophy of history" or even a "theology of history." At most, it is a "theological interpretation" of history. Nor is Platonic doctrine of decisive import in *The City of God,* granting Augustine's profound respect for Plato, Varro and, above all, for Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles.* Ernest Barker's emphasis on the Platonism in Augustine comes in for strong criticism here by the author who regards it as the opinion of a nonspecialist.

Did Augustine banish Rome *in toto* to the category of states which are no states at all because they lack justice? Rome lacked this essential ingredient of an authentic state because she did not render proper justice to God in so far as she worshiped false gods. The author says that Augustine held Rome to be absolutely evil on this count, but relatively good on other counts. This relative good was fulfilled in Christianity.

Professor O'Meara's book focuses our attention where it belongs:

on the spiritual and Biblical roots of *The City of God.* Perhaps the ecclesiological import of Augustine's work could have received more attention along with the profound effect that predestination and grace had on the formation of *The City of God.* But even as it stands, his lecture makes rewarding reading coming as it does from the pen of an outstanding specialist.

BERNARD E. MCGOLDRICK, S.J.

AN IMPRESSIVE STORY OF UNSTINTED DEVOTION

The Sisters of Charity of New York: 1809-1959. *By Sister Marie de Lourdes Walsh, S.C.* New York: Fordham University Press, 1960. 3 vols. Pp. xviii-364; ix-339; x-355.

Sister Marie de Lourdes has written the history of a diocesan congregation known to Jesuits of the New York Province by its work in St. Vincent's Hospital and in the parish schools of St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis Xavier in New York.

The story of the Sisters of Charity of New York began in Emmitsburg, Md., back in 1809 when the widowed convert, Elizabeth Seton, and a handful of associates organized themselves as a religious community for service in the educational and charitable mission of the young American Church. In 1817 Mother Seton sent three of the Sisters to open the community's first New York house. In 1846, faced with the decision of the superiors at Emmitsburg to seek the incorporation of the entire Seton community in St. Vincent de Paul's Daughters of Charity, a number of the Sisters of Charity stationed in New York opted, with the encouragement of Bishop John Hughes, to regroup into a diocesan congregation which would have its own motherhouse at New York and would retain the habit and the constitutions of the foundress. Today the congregation has grown to almost 1500 members and staffs a college, a junior college, close to one hundred primary or secondary schools, four child-caring institutions, three general hospitals, and a handful of related health and service institutions.

As the documentation in each of the three volumes shows, Sister Marie's work is firmly founded upon research in the relevant diocesan and community archives and in a wide variety of published and unpublished secondary sources. Instead of a straight multi-volume chronicle, Sister has adopted the much more serviceable device of devoting an initial volume to a survey of the general history of the community, leaving for subsequent volumes the more detailed treatment of the community's educational, hospital, child-care, and related charitable works. The result is a history which affords the reader at one and the same time an organic account of the over-all development of the community and an adequate treatment of each one of the community's numerous foundations.

Volume I, intended as it is to provide a general survey of the community's history, tends to be largely what might be called "motherhouse history." Volume II concentrates on the educational works of the community. Volume III is devoted to hospital, child-care, and other charitable works. Here, as in the previous volume, each institution is

accorded a complete historical sketch. While any particular one of these miniature institutional histories will appeal primarily to readers who have had some connection with the institution in question, the general reader will find that cumulatively they tell a most impressive story—a story not without its women of talent, imagination, and drive, but written in large part by ordinary women remarkable principally for their lives of devoted service.

Although Sister Marie's narrative occasionally lapses into eulogy where a more detached account would have been preferred, for the most part the historian has remained in control and the result is a comprehensive and sober reconstruction of one hundred and fifty years of well-laden history—a fine specimen of official community history.

JAMES G. MCCANN, S.J.

A GREAT HERITAGE OF A GLORIOUS PAST

The Medieval University. *By Lowrie J. Daly, S.J.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. xiv-241. $5.00.

The standard work on the medieval universities is that of the Oxford philosopher-theologian-historian Hastings Rashdall, first published in 1895 and revised in 1936 in three volumes. At the opposite end of the line, quantitatively speaking, is the delightful series of lectures by the American medievalist Charles Homer Haskins delivered at Brown University in 1923 and published under the title *The Rise of the Universities.* Much scholarly work has been done in periodical or monographic form on the subject but for some time a need has been felt for a short but scholarly summation of this research for the use of college students and teachers. The present work supplies this need admirably.

Father Daly, originator and director of the Vatican Microfilm Projects of St. Louis University, has behind him many years of research and classroom lecturing on the subject of medieval university education. Father Daly writes in a pleasant, clear style and his book is unencumbered by footnotes, an omission which every scholar makes reluctantly.

In six brief chapters the author treats of the development of medieval education from its classical origins, its slow beginnings within cloister walls, to its supreme embodiment in the university of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The most important chapter, from this reviewer's standpoint, is the chapter on "Constitutional Democracy at the University Level" which is a lucid summary of Pearl Kibre's excellent monograph on *The Nations in the Medieval European Universities.* A further chapter emphasizes the central importance of the textbook in the medieval universities. The fourth chapter deals with the very intricate subject of the progress of the students from apprentice to doctor; there follows a treatment of life in the universities, and finally a discussion of the place of the university in the world of the Middle Ages. An appendix of six documents completes the work.

Father Daly's book is a fine example of the fairly large number of books being published these days which attempt to bring the fruit of

recent scholarship to the general student. His work will be of great use to college students and teachers who are seeking a good summary of this important subject.

THOMAS L. SCOTT, S.J.

MORALS AND THE MUSE

Movies, Morals and Art. *By Frank Getlein and Harold C. Gardiner, S.J.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 179. $3.50.

This is the third in a series published by Sheed and Ward in response to the papal exhortation for Catholics to devote serious study to the motion picture. Edward Fischer's *The Screen Arts* was an introduction to the art of the film. Father William Lynch's *The Image Industries* provided a theoretical framework for the other books in the series. The present volume is divided into two parts: The Art of the Movie by Frank Getlein, art critic for the *New Republic*, and the Moral Evaluation of the Film by Father Harold Gardiner, S.J., literary editor of *America*.

Mr. Getlein's half of the book will probably prove more informative to those concerned with the film as a particular art form with its own peculiar language. The level of discussion is intended to be introductory and Getlein's frequently provocative style lends itself to discussion in study group or classroom contexts. After recalling the commercial origins of the film as a medium of mass entertainment and the consequent obstacles to artistic achievement, Getlein outlines a general theory of art before applying it specifically to the film. Time and rhythm are conditions of any art form but they are at the very heart of the film. It is the particular resource of the film that it offers the artist a complete control of time; the tension between narrative time and film time is essential to the art.

Getlein sketches briefly the history of the film as an emerging art form and clearly highlights the moments of pivotal discoveries. Edison's first experiments led to E. S. Porter who first hammered out the basic grammar of the film and D. W. Griffith and the historic *Birth of a Nation*, the film that introduced such important techniques as cutting and closeups. He notes with interest that most of the technical advancements were motivated by commercial interests. Sound and technicolor were only introduced when it was necessary to boost attendance; the actual techniques were already well known. At the present time the industry is grappling with the problem of the wide screen. Early experimentation with the wide screen has not been successful either artistically or commercially.

Those familiar with Father Gardiner's articles in *America* as well as his more theoretic *Norms for the Novel* will find the same sane and sensible approach to the film. Most of this half of the book is an application of Father Gardner's critical norms to the film, but several points are made that are more pertinent to the film as a peculiar cultural phenomenon. Both Mr. Getlein and Father Gardiner are concerned with the personality cult of the star system. Getlein's objection is largely artistic; producer, director and editor should be the true

artists of the film, not the actor. There is little hope for creativity if films have to be tailored to the public image of a successful star. Father Gardiner objects to the false values implicit in such a system and in most of the films such a system produces. Hollywood has found the most marketable commodity to be the mass daydream. This flight from the real is not as obvious an assault on morality as the suggestive dance or costume but, in the end, can be more viciously corrosive. This escape from reality has its peculiarly Catholic expression in the "jolly priest" films, which succeed in making Bing Crosby in a Roman collar a most reassuring, if hopelessly counterfeit, religious symbol.

JOSEPH A. O'HARE, S.J.

THE TEENAGER AND LOVE

Love—and Live! *By Joseph T. McGloin, S.J.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1961. Book I: Learn a Little! Pp. 97. $1.25. Book II: Yearn a Little! Pp. 134. $1.35. Book III: Burn a Little! Pp. 144. $1.50.

This trilogy for teenagers aims at presenting positive principles as a basis for a more mature Christian life. It is written "for those who realize that the Christian life is not just a constant effort to avoid sin but rather is a positive thing—the living of a life in conformity with God's will in order to achieve man's only true purpose, eternal union with God" (Book I, p. x).

In *Learn a Little!* the author treats the end of creation, the use of creatures, and sin. *Yearn a Little!* concerns the do's and don't's of dating and sex. *Burn a Little!* continues the consideration of the means of reaching our final destiny. The three main topics here are death-hell, grace, and prayer.

Although there are good individual sections, the author's general approach seems to be too moralistic, tending towards an obligation-structure of Christian life rather than a value-centered approach. His central theme may be stated as the service of God as our life's task. Presenting Christian teaching as knowledge of how to realize our life's purpose leads to a system of duties rather than to a deep appreciation of Christian values. Further, Father McGloin practically ignores the rich renewal of Christian principles brought about by the scriptural and liturgical revitalization.

In particular this attitude can be seen as he treats death-hell for twenty-one pages at the beginning of *Burn a Little! (or, what's Love all about?);* the second chapter considers creation, the fall, redemption, justification, faith, and baptism in all of nine pages. This accent on death is poor even psychologically, for death is merely a retreat-time consideration for the teenager; it will not be a constant source of positive motivation. Also in accord with this general approach is his treatment of the sacraments as helps and the relatively minor consideration given to the Mass. Likewise, since he does not situate Christ as continuing his action in time in the sacramental-liturgical life, his fine presentation of the person of Christ loses some of its power to foster a dynamic, personal engagement to a full life in Christ.

In short, although here and there it contains good, practical insights, this trilogy does not adequately present the positive richness of the Christian life as a basis for the teenager's total commitment to Christ.

ROBERT J. HEYER, S.J.

A POST OF NEWLY DISCOVERED IMPORT

Secrets of Successful Recruiting. *By Godfrey R. Poage, C.P.* Westminster: The Newman Press, 1961. Pp. 219. $3.50.

In the not too distant past the admission that one was engaged in vocational recruiting was sufficient to unleash the fury of a Salem witch hunt. With the advent of TV advertising and public relations extravaganzas, the once maligned recruiter now finds himself in a singularly vital and influential post in his diocese or community. There are occasions, however, when the recruiter undertakes his task with ample good will and enthusiasm linked with an equal ignorance of the field. It is for these individuals that this book was written.

The author, Father Poage, is noted for his success in the vocational apostolate and the number of his previous publications in this same field. In this volume he presents a continuous listing of the qualities desired in a successful recruiter as well as the points to be covered when dealing with the candidate and his parents. His chapter on meeting the challenge of modern youth offers much to stimulate the minds of older religious who find themselves inadequate in dealing with today's youth. What to avoid in dealing with the parents and candidate, the manner of approaching the candidate after the initial meeting, the outlining and actual operation of a diocesan vocational campaign are some of the more practical topics discussed.

There are, unfortunately, one or two limitations which must be considered before following Father Poage's advice. First, Father is dealing with the entire field of recruiting and as a result his material must be adapted to the particular age group with which one is working. Secondly, and perhaps this is the most important flaw of the book, there is a definite tendency to oversimplify parental objections to a youngster's entering a juniorate while still of high school age. These objections are frequently more valid than the author would admit and as a result deserve a great deal more respect than the author is willing to give.

In spite of these two objections the book in its general approach and with its excellent bibliography gives the prospective recruiter much information and will enable him at least to begin his apostolate with sufficient knowledge for the task before him.

WILLIAM J. HENDRICKS, S.J.

PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY

The Philosophical Roots of Scientific Psychology. *By Henryk Misiak.* New York: Fordham University Press, 1961. Pp. xiv-142. $3.00.

This little book is intended to fill a gap in the literature readily available to students of the history of psychology. Too often the study

of the science is conducted in a historical vacuum, and almost universally, when the vacuum is filled, it is conspicuously not filled with a consideration of the vast tradition of human thought which has had an incalculable impact on the shape and the progress of scientific psychology.

Father Misiak has provided us with a compact volume which might serve as a directive for a reading program in this vital area. He glances through most of the history of philosophy in its attempt to penetrate the nature of man, and in the process he manages to touch most of the important bases. Inevitably he is forced to leap-frog tremendous distances, and where he lands his treatment is of necessity cursory and superficial. It is much to his credit that he always seems to land on his feet. Consequently there is a great deal of "philosophical root" in this little book and little scientific psychology.

In racing through the philosophical roots from the pre-Socratics to Spencer and Bergson, sensitive and problematic issues are touched which are pertinent to some provocative and perplexing questions facing modern psychologists. While most of us recognize the *de facto* congruence of philosophical positions and theoretical formulations, the discussion ought to focus on what that congruence means or should mean to the scientist who is concerned with the understanding of human behavior. Father Misiak has at least shown us where to look to find the problem.

W. W. MEISSNER, S.J.

ANOTHER APPROACH TO AN OLD PROBLEM

From Limbo to Heaven. *By Vincent Wilkin, S.J.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1961. Pp. xiii-145. $3.00.

The title of the present work is somewhat misleading. The book is, in fact, an inquiry into the role of baptism in the entire economy of redemption. As such it is the work of a deeply thoughtful Jesuit, a man with a remarkably priestly and apostolic heart. The work was put together in the final months of Father Wilkin's life, and represents all that his waning strength would permit him to record of a vision he had been elaborating for many years.

The problem which most troubled Father Wilkin, in trying to synthesize redemptive theology, was that of those infants who died unbaptized. He felt there should be a way to heaven for them. With this *a priori* postulate, quite honestly acknowledged as such, he set about the double task of positive and speculative theology.

The speculative part of his book is by far the more interesting. He outlines an explanation of the gaining of heaven by unbaptized infants which is most appealing, and which is quite consonant with his whole picture of baptismal theology. This explanation defies brief summary, but the central point is the abolition of original sin at the last Judgment: "With the whole economy of original sin abolished by the consummation of redemption, and this abolition being signified by the General Resurrection, . . . can (the unbaptized infants) be said to

continue in the state of original sin when original sin itself, i.e. in its racial revolt and enmity against God, has been abolished? What is there in the soul of the infant that original sin should survive there, when the infant has lost its solidarity with Adam and has escaped from the power and captivity of Satan?" (p. 76)

It is, however, in the area of positive theology—in Father Wilkin's return to the sources for the basic tenets of Catholic doctrine on the matter—that his thesis stands or falls. He considers the second Council of Lyons and Florence, and notes the contrast between the pains of those damned for personal sin and those who died with nothing but unremitted original sin. In a letter of Innocent III, he notes that "perpetual" is applied to the punishment of the former but not to that of the latter. There are, however, certain texts which Father Wilkin does not mention—texts commonly cited in proof of the eternal exclusion of the unbaptized. The chief of these are from Trent and Carthage. The latter is especially important since the canon in question explicitly denies eternal life to the unbaptized. One can only wish that it were possible to ask Father Wilkin how he explains this canon. Until it is explained, the central thesis of the book is of doubtful value.

This work, then, leaves many questions unanswered. Nonetheless it is beautifully written, affords much food for thought, and is a moving revelation of a contemporary *Alter Christus* as he wrestles with an anguish as old as Augustine.

THOMAS H. GREEN, S.J.

PRIESTLY SANCTITY

Sanctified in Truth. *By Leo J. Trese.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 183. $3.50.

Sacerdotal sanctity is a major concern with Father Trese. Since 1950 he has written six books on this subject. At the very end of *Sanctified in Truth* he tells the reader that this is his last venture into a touchy but most important area of spirituality. If true, and we hope it is not, then a real lacuna will open up in the field of books on various aspects of the spiritual life of "the servants of the Lord."

Father Trese's strong point of appeal is his absolute candor and simplicity of style. The simple thesis of his books has been to urge the priest to be a holy person. If the priest is to be the true representative of Christ here on earth, then the priest himself must be a man dedicated to prayer and self-sacrifice.

Sanctified in Truth develops a central theme that can be stated simply, "Don't try to carry the load alone." Trese uses the topic as the subject of his first chapter and then lets the rest of the book branch off and develop from that thesis. Therefore the proper way to read this book is to read one chapter a day and to ruminate slowly on the thoughts suggested. The result should be a deepening of the awareness that the source of a priest's power and effectiveness is Christ Our Lord.

In the first chapter Father Trese attacks the common modern heresy

that the priest can do all things and, if he does not do all things, he is a failure. The advice given is sound and sane, "Relax, Father, relax." The simple point is that God made us what we are and we are expected to work out our sanctity and the sanctity of others within that framework. Once a priest has accepted this basic fact of his limitations, he should fashion himself in the image of Christ. This means a persevering effort to see ourselves and others through the eyes of Christ; to think as He would think, to judge as He would judge, to speak and act under any circumstances as He would speak and act.

Sanctity involves prayer, sacrifice, spiritual readings, devotion to duty, and the acceptance of our own limitations. Each of these ideas is treated in its own chapter and many practical examples are sprinkled throughout the chapter to add relevance to a possibly abstract idea.

Father Trese makes no attempt at scholarly presentation. He may be accused of being a popularizer of theology, but if this means that people can read his books without strain and still come away with some solid thoughts about the spiritual life and the life of grace, then God bless him and his work. A multitude of footnotes does not make a scholarly book. At the same time a lack of ponderous references does not make a book frivolous. *Sanctified in Truth* is no weighty tome of theological speculation. It is a book that thinks priestly holiness is important and attempts to show the way to reach that goal. Every priest should read this book or at least some sections of it and use the ideas presented as a measuring rod of his personal commitment to the Eternal High Priest, Christ Jesus Our Lord.

DAVID J. AMBUSKE, S.J.

A HANDY REFERENCE BOOK

A Handbook of the Liturgy. *By Rudolf Peil.* Translated by H. E. Winstone. New York: Herder and Herder, 1960. Pp. xv-317. $5.95.

The constantly swelling stream of literature exploring and urging the case for liturgical reform may understandably irritate many priests engaged in pastoral work as well as religious and lay teachers of religion courses. Much as they would like to bring the liturgy to bear on sermons and classroom instruction, they simply do not have the time to sift through countless journals and books much less to fashion the scattered nuggets into new courses and curricula. Father Peil has undertaken this task in this present volume, a translation of his *Handbuch der Liturgik für Katecheten und Lehrer*, first published in 1955.

The *Handbook* has four parts that sketch out a graduated scheme of liturgical instruction spanning the first of the primary grades on through high school. Part I, the liturgy in general, explains elementary terms and gestures, the meaning of the church and its furnishing, the vestments and vessels, and the hours and feasts of the Church year. Part II deals with the Mass; Part III explains the liturgical year; and

Part IV moves on to the Sacraments and Sacramentals. Each section of the book focuses on a clearly stated aim and there are numerous suggestions regarding the presentation of material as well as homework assignments and practical applications for the students. Throughout the *Handbook* Father Peil underscores the unique instructional value of having the students witness the thing or action, e.g., a wedding, about which they are studying.

In large part this book meets the need described above; Father Peil's imagination and erudition will enable pastors and religion teachers to inspire the young with the vital relevance of the liturgy to their daily lives. Understandably, American readers will find that some of the suggestions are peculiar to German education or national liturgical traditions. Furthermore, the teaching aids listed are almost exclusively from British publishers.

CARL J. HEMMER, S.J.

PERSPECTIVE IN THE SPIRITUAL LIFE

Perspective for Renewal. *By Mary Perkins Ryan.* Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1960. Pp. 94. $2.25.

The difference between Maisie Ward's recent "Changes in the Liturgy: Cri de Coeur" (in *Life of the Spirit* for October, 1961) and this volume may well turn out to be one of the words in Mrs. Ryan's title: perspective. While it is not really fair to set at odds the statements of these two distinguished ladies, yet one cannot help feeling that Mrs. Sheed would be less inclined to be so professedly autobiographical, were she to approach the general problem of renewal within the Church from the point of view adopted by Mrs. Ryan.

The problem, as Mrs. Ryan describes it, is the great gap to be discerned between spirituality and life in the world, whether that life be lived by the priest, the religious or the layman. The solution, the perspective which she offers, is given in terms of sacred history: by an unfathomable gesture of love, God creates so as to give creatures a share in His life and, after sin, shows forth the profound fidelity of that love by engaging in the process of re-creation. "As revealed and developed in Scripture, the liturgy, and Christian tradition, it opens out all the aspects of human life to the truth and love given us in Christ." The effort of the book is to show that the viewpoint of sacred history is more realistic in the sense that it brings home the reality of God's action in our lives here and now, as well as the response which such action calls for on our part. There is an excellent chapter on "The Distribution of Roles" within the Body of Christ which helps to make more concrete both the call and the implications of response according to the different states of life.

The author adds some particular suggestions which pertain to family life (Chapter 6) and to education (Chapter 7), following the lines of her fundamental thesis of "the all-inclusive realism of the Christian spiritual life."

This is a book that high school and college men and women will find

inspiring and thought-provoking. Maisie Ward was not wrong to tell us how she feels about things; but perhaps Mrs. Ryan is more to the point in telling us some things to think about.

JOHN J. GALLEN, S.J.

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